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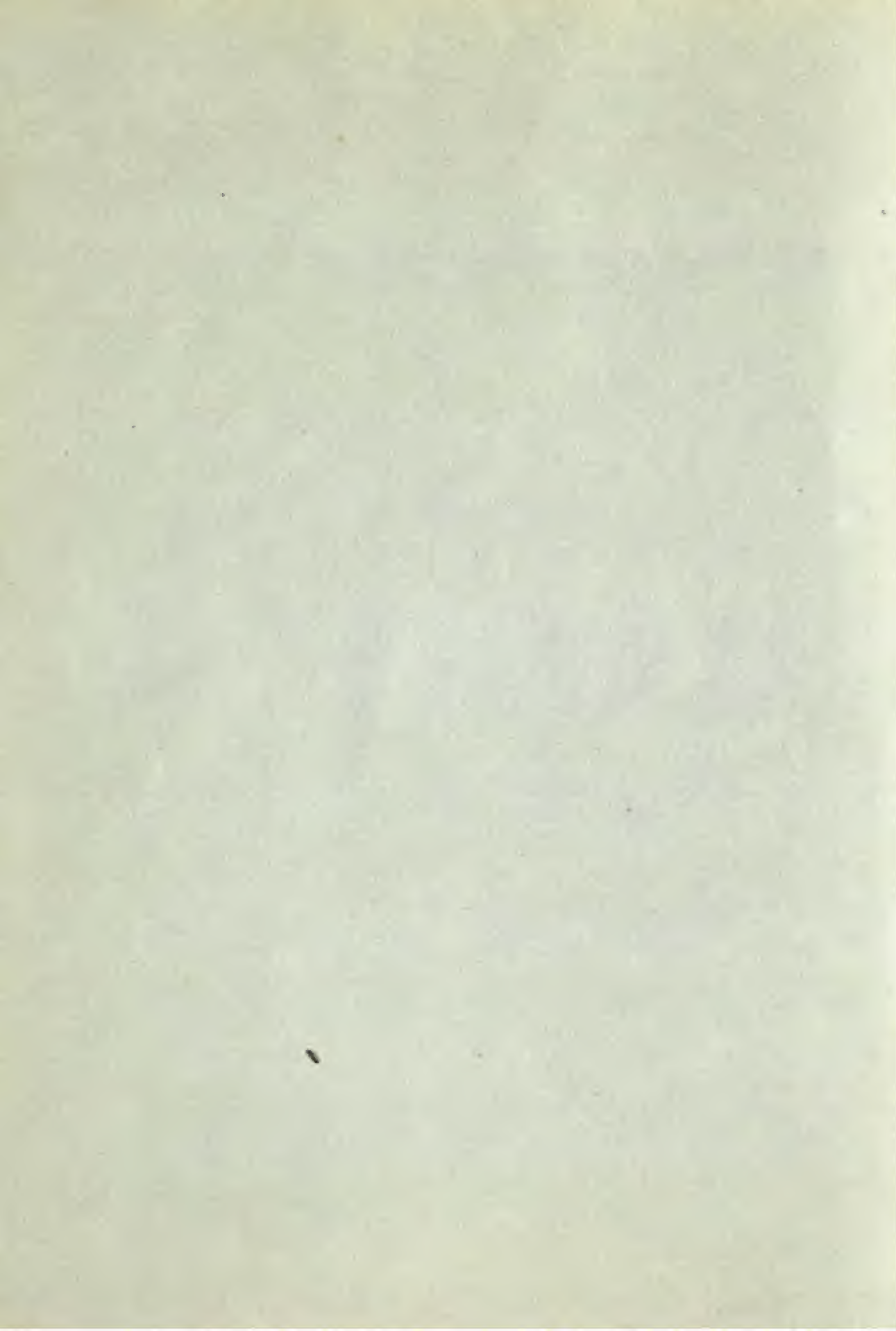
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC & PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*)

1951-54



PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA,
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110011

1987



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प्रत्यक्षीतिमपादय

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PREFACE

The task of making available to the world of scholars the benefits of study and research on Indian inscriptions would have remained incomplete without the reprinting of volumes of *Epigraphia Indica* (Arabic & Persian Supplement). This series, under the title *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, published from 1907 to 1940, was revived in 1949 and since 1951 in its present form. This valuable material is being published in 13 volumes. The present one is 6th in the series and will be followed in quick succession by subsequent ones.

I wish to record my thanks to Shri N.M. Ganam, Superintending Epigraphist, for the planning of the series. Shri J.C. Gupta, Production Officer, Archaeological Survey of India, has the credit for its speedy execution and production.

K.V. RAMESH
DIRECTOR (EPIGRAPHY)

MYSORE
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DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1951 and 1952

EDITED BY
Z. A. DESAI



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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

1951 and 1952

ARABIC AND PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN THE AGRA FORT

BY MAULAVI MOHD. ASHRAF HUSAIN

Some of the inscriptions in the Agra Fort have already been noticed by scholars, none of whom, however, could find time to deal exhaustively with all of them. Moreover, they seem to have worked at them rather in a hurry which rendered their readings in most cases faulty and consequently misleading. Hence it has fallen to my lot not only to correct their omissions but also to publish in a lot all the epigraphs in the Fort, properly illustrated by facsimiles, together with a brief history, based on original records, of the monuments on which they appear. But before taking up the inscriptions which I propose to deal with in this paper in chronological sequence, it seems desirable to say a word about the general history of the Agra Fort wherein they are situated.

The fort stands on the right bank of the river Yamuna and marks the site of the old castle of Badalgarh, possibly an old Tomāra or Chauhān stronghold which, according to Emperor Jahāngīr¹, was levelled to the ground by his imperial father, Emperor Akbar, to make room for his own magnificent fort of red sandstone. Akbar built it under the superintendence of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Mir-i-Bahr (Harbour-master), but the cost and date of its construction are disputed. The *Āin-i-Akbarī* gives the cost as 7 crores of Akbari *tankas* equivalent to 35 lakhs of rupees and Khāfi Khān² erroneously estimates the expenditure at 20 lakhs of rupees, but the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Persian text, p. 2) and the *Bādshāhnāma* (Persian text, Vol. I, p. 155) are decidedly correct, for they give the same figure as is given by Abu'l-Faḥl in his *Āin-i-Akbarī*. Similarly, various dates are traditionally assigned to the erection of the fort ranging from 1567 to 1571, but Abu'l-Faḥl³ and Mullā 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī⁴ are at one in their statement that it was completed in 8 years' time i.e. 972-980 A.H. (1565-1573 A.D.).

Ever since the construction of the fort by Akbar, the buildings in it have undergone considerable change: some of them were subsequently adapted to their tastes and requirements by his successors, while others completely pulled down to make room for their own. Roughly speaking, the present position is that Akbar is responsible for the erection of its walls and gates, Aurangzeb for the *sher-i-hājī* or ramparts, five gate-ways and the *fosse* outside, while most of the principal buildings in it were set up by Shāh Jahān.

INSCRIPTION NO. I

Almost all the inscriptions in the Agra Fort are of the Mughul period, dating as far back as the 16th century, except the one on the Ghazni Gate of the 11th century. The latter is important

¹ *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Persian text (Allypore edition, 1864), p. 2.

² *Muntakhbatu'l-Lubāb*, Persian text. Part I, p. 165.

³ *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann's translation), Vol. I, p. 330.

⁴ *Bādshāhnāma*, Persian text, Vol. I, p. 154.

not only on account of its antiquarian age and historical association but also because of its being a fine specimen of the ornamental *Kūfic* script of those times. The Mughal inscriptions are all in elegant Persian, prose or verse, which, as is probably known to students of Muslim epigraphy, has been steadily replacing the Arabic language in historical epigraphs in India ever since the last decades of the thirteenth century. The style of writing is *Nasta'liq*, exquisitely executed. This script made its appearance in India about the middle of the 16th century in the reign of Emperor Humāyūn and gradually replaced the *Naskh* script which was eventually reserved only for religious inscriptions on tombs and mosques. Unlike these, the Ghaznī Gate inscription is in Arabic prose, artistically executed in ornamental *Kūfic*, which shows the custom and taste of the Ghaznavids to whom the gate owes its origin.

The Ghaznī Gate stands in the northern verandah of the Shāhjahānī Mahal in the westernmost multifoil arch which is closed by a glass screen. The gate, about 12 ft. high by 9 ft. wide, is an interesting relic of the Afghān Expedition of 1842 and was brought by General Nott as the spoils of war by order of Lord Ellenborough, then Viceroy of India. It was wrongly identified with the sandalwood gate of the great Hindu temple at Somnāth, in Gujarāt, supposed to have been wrested by Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 415 A.H. (1024-25 A.D.). Unlike the Somnāth Gate, it is made of *deodār* wood and, being purely Saracenic in design and details, the absurdity of the identification is apparent. It was, however, brought to the Agra Fort in a triumphal car and kept in the Diwān-i-Ām, then walled up and used as a British armoury, for many years until 1870 when it was removed to its present position to be exhibited in the Museum of the Archaeological Society of Agra. At the top of the Gate is an Arabic inscription in prose in ornamental *Kūfic* characters incised in wood. It invokes blessings on Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Sabuktigīn, and runs as follows :—

TEXT (Plate Ia)

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ غفران من الله للامير الاجل السيد الملك المولود
امير الدولة و امير الملة ابي القاسم محمود بن سبكتكين رحمة الله عليه و لو رحمه له

TRANSLATION

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Forgiveness be from God for the most glorious Amīr, born Chief of the kings, Lord of the State and Lord of the Faith, Abi'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd, son of Sabuktigīn, may the mercy of Allāh be on him! And if He shows him mercy, it will be (good) for him.

INSCRIPTION NO. II

The Delhi Gate, also known as Hāthī Pol (Elephant Gate), faces the Agra Fort railway station and is reached by crossing the wooden draw-bridge and passing through the outer gate along a paved ascent. It gives access to the military area of the Fort and has a modern Guard Room on the south bearing two inscriptions one of which, in Persian prose, is at a height of 9'2" from the floor and refers to Emperor Akbar's march, probably to the Deccan in 1008 A.H. (1599-1600 A.D.) and his return to Agra in 1010 A.H. (1601-02 A.D.) but never to the construction of the Delhi Gate as is erroneously supposed by Carlleyle and others. The other one, dated 1014 A.H. (1605 A.D.), is in Persian verse set up by Emperor Jahāngīr underneath his father's epigraph.¹

¹ Vide Inscription No. IV *infra*.

(a) On the Ghaazi gate preserved in the Agra Fort, Agra



SCALE · 09

(b) On the east wall of the modern Guard Room inside Delhi Gate, Agra Fort



SCALE · 08



SCALE · 15

(a) On the east wall of the modern Guard Room inside Delhi Gate, Agra Fort



SCALE · 23

(b) Along the four sides of the Black Throne in the Agra Fort



SCALE · 1



SCALE · 13



SCALE · 13

The former is now almost entirely worn out owing to the peeling off of the stone and the fragmentary epigraph *in situ* (Plate IIa), measuring 1'5" x 7", consists of only faint traces of the words " [نزل ا] جلال فرمود " (i.e., gloriously alighted) which evidently make little sense. The readings given by Carlleyle¹, Latîf² and Lâla Bahal Râi are at much variance with one another and it is difficult to vouch for their correctness. However, Bahal Râi's reading, published in the *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of Agra*³ in 1874, appears to be fairly plausible and the same is quoted below :—

حضرت شہنشاہ جم جاہ خلافت پناہ ظل ایشہ جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاہ در سنہ ۱۰۰۸
توجہ فرمود و در سنہ ۱۰۱۰ نزل اجلال فرمود من تمام کر کہ او
چون بگلزار آگرہ جائے گرفت

TRANSLATION

His Majesty, the Emperor, a Jamahid in dignity, the protection of the realm, the shadow of God, King Jafâr-ud-Dîn Muḥammad Akbar, set out in the year 1008 (A.H. or 1599-1600 A.D.) and in the year 1010 (A.H. or 1601-02 A.D.) alighted gloriously that he when he took his seat in the garden of Agra.

INSCRIPTION NO. III

On the Throne Terrace, in front of the Diwān-i-Khāṣ, are two thrones, one of white marble on the west over-looking the Maḥchabī Bhawan and the other of *Sang-i-Mahak* or touchstone on the east over-looking the river Yamuna. The latter, which is erroneously supposed to be of black marble, is carved out entire with its four legs of a single block of touchstone. It bears three inscriptions which lead one to conclude that it was used by Prince Salim (afterwards Emperor Jahāngir) during the time he rebelled against his father, Akbar, and held his court at Allahabad from where it was subsequently brought to Agra and placed in its present position. It has now a crack which is supposed to have been caused by a cannon ball possibly during the siege of the fort by Monsieur Perron, Commandar of Scindhia's regular troops, or later by Lord Lake in 1803. All the four facets of this throne are inscribed and the inscriptions on it, five in number, are in Persian prose or verse, eulogizing Jahāngir both as Prince Salim when he had rebelled against his father in 1011 A.H. (1602-03 A.D.) and as Emperor after the death of Akbar. They read as follows (Plates IIb and III) :

Along the four sides of the Throne, in embossed Nasta'liq letters :

یا حافظ	یا حفیظ
(۱) باشد این تختگاه فرخنده	تکیہ گاہ خدایگان کریم
(۲) محک خسروان و پایہ ملک	مہر و مہ را عیار بر زد و سیم
(۳) مستندے با صفا ز نور و ضیا	گوهری بے بہا چو در یتیم
(۴) بے تاریخ او بفکر شدم	مددے جستم از خدای حکیم

¹ *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. IV (published in 1874), p. 113.

² *Agra, Historical and Descriptive* (published in 1896), p. 75.

³ *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of Agra* (January to June 1874), p. xx.

- (۵) تا فلک تختگاه خورشید است گفت ماند سریر شاه سلیم
(۶) بادشاهی که تیغ او سازد چون دو پیکر سر عدو بدوینیم

TRANSLATION

(1) May this fortunate throne be the resting-place of munificent sovereigns! O Preserver! O Guardian!

(2) (May it be) the touchstone of monarchs and the pivot of the Kingdom (and) the test of the gold of the sun and the silver of the moon!

(3) (May it be) an elegant seat on account of its brilliance and splendour, (and) invaluable like the only pearl in the oyster!

(4) For its date I reflected and sought help from the Omniscient God,

(5) Who said, "As long as the sky is the throne of the Sun, may the throne of Shāh Salīm last!" (1011 A.H.=1602-03 A.D.)

(6) (That is) the king whose sword cuts the enemy's head into two halves like the constellation of Castor and Pollux star.

On the western facet of the Throne, last line in incised Nasta'liq characters:

- (۱) چون شاه سلیم وارث تاج و نگین بر تخت نشست و بست گیتی آئین
(۲) شد اسم مبارکش جهانگیر چو ذات و ز نور عدالت لقبش نور الدین

TRANSLATION

(1) When Shāh Salīm, the heir to the crown and seal, ascended the throne and ruled over the world,

(2) his auspicious name, like his person, became *Jahāngir* (conqueror of the world), and on account of the light of (his) justice, he was entitled *Nūru'd-Dīn* (Light of the Faith).

In the centre of the north and south facets of the Throne, one hemistich in each respectively, in raised Nasta'liq letters:

TEXT (Plates IIb, 1.1 and III, 1.1)

همیشه باد مزین بنور مهر اله سریر حضرت سلطان سلیم اکبر شاه

TRANSLATION

May the throne of *Ḥaẓrat Sultān Salīm*, son of Akbar Shāh, ever shine under the glow of God's mercy!

On either side of the 1st hemistich are inscribed the words *یا حافظ* (O Preserver) and *یا حفیظ* (O Guardian) respectively.

Underneath the inscription on the east facet of the Throne at the north end, in Persian prose in Nasta'liq characters in relief:

TEXT (Plate IIb, 1.2)

اسم نامی پیرس از جلوس شاه سلیم و بعد آن نور الدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه غازی

¹ The lines are not clear in the stampage (see Plate III, B. 2 and 3).

Contd. from Plate II (b)



SCALE · 1



SCALE · 13



SCALE · 13

ARABIC AND PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN THE AGRA FORT

TRANSLATION

His dignified name, before accession, (was) Shāh Salīm and afterwards Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī.

On the same east facet of the Throne, last line at the south end, in Persian verse in embossed Nasta'liq letters :

TEXT (Plate IIb, l.3)

بلند مرتبه باد از فلک چو حکم اله سریر شاه جهانگیر این اکبر شاه

TRANSLATION

Like the will of God, may the throne of Shāh Jahāngīr, son of Akbar Shāh, be exalted !

INSCRIPTION NO. IV

Underneath the inscription No. II on the Delhi Gate described above is a Persian inscription in verse in embossed Nasta'liq characters. The chronogram is in the last couplet. It is interesting and enigmatic. Ordinarily, people call it defective inasmuch as the numerical value of the words ' *Bād Jahān Bādshāh Shāh-i-Jahāngīr-i-mā* ', according to the *Abjad* calculation, yields 1015 A.H. (1606 A.D.), whereas the correct date of the inscription is 1014 A.H. (1605 A.D.). But a careful study shows that the first hemistich of the verse provides us with a key to the enigma, saying, " An *alif* (from his pen) rushed at the two (evil) eyes of the jealous ". This means deducting from 1015, the numerical value of *alif*, i.e., 1 and so we get 1014 A.H. (1605 A.D.), the year of Jahāngīr's accession.

The composer of the chronogram was Muḥammad Maṣūm of Bhakkar whose poetical appellation was Nāmī as given in the epigraph. According to Ṣaṃṣāmu'd-Daula¹ and others,² he was a Tirmizī sayyid born at Bhakkar. Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Governor of Bhakkar, was a great patron of his father, Mīr Sayyid Ṣafāī, after whose death he distinguished himself by his learning. Akbar, in the 40th year of his reign, made him a commander of 250 and subsequently of 1000. Emperor Akbar was very fond of him and so was Jahāngīr. He was very pious and generous. He is well known as poet and historian and has composed many valuable works. He was also a skilled composer and tracer of inscriptions and was generally accompanied by his sculptors on his travels. When he happened to go from India to Iṣfahān and Tabriz as an ambassador to Irān, he adorned with inscriptions numerous mosques and public buildings on the way, and the *Maṣṭhūrū'l-Umarā* says that the inscriptions over the gate of the Agra Fort, on the Jāmī Masjid at Fatehpūr Sikrī and in the Māndū Fort are all by him. The one on the Agra Fort runs as follows :—

TEXT (Plate Ib)

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| (۱) شاه جهان چون گرفت جاے بتخت شرف | تخت ز رفعت نهاد بر زیر چرخ پا |
| (۲) دست دعا بر کشاد پیر فلک از نشاط | گفت که بادا مدام حکم تو فرمانروا |
| (۳) خواست که نامی کند سال جلوس رقم | بود در آندم لبش بر ز ثنا [و دعا] |
| (۴) میل دو چشم حسود یکد الفش کرد و گفت | باد جهان بادشاه شاه جهانگیر ما |

قایله و راقمه محمد معصوم البکری

¹ *Maṣṭhūrū'l-Umarā*, Persian text, Vol. III, pp. 326-29.

² *Akbarnāma*, Persian text, Vol. III, pp. 416, 423, 546, etc., and Beale's *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 269.

TRANSLATION

(1) When the king of the world took his seat on the glorious throne, the throne, through pride, put its feet on the top of the heaven.

(2) The age-old sky, being rejoiced, stretched forth its hands in prayer and said, 'May thy order be ever supreme!'

(3) When Nāmī wished to write the year of his accession, his lips were at that moment full of praise (and prayer);

(4) an *alif* (from his pen) rushed at the two (evil) eyes of the jealous, and said, 'May our king Jahāngīr be the king of the world!'

Composed and written by Muḥammad Ma'sūm of Bakkar.

INSCRIPTION NO. V

The Hauz-i-Jahāngīrī, or Cistern of Jahāngīr, is placed in front of the western gate of the Jahāngīrī Maḥal. It is cup-shaped, cut out of a single block of light-coloured porphyry with steps inside and outside. It is 5 ft. high and 4 ft. deep with the edge about 6 inches thick. The external diameter measures 8 ft. and the circumference about 25 ft. There are several legends about it: some call it *Bhīm Rāja-kī-Kundī* (the Bhang Bowl of Rāja Bhīm) while others assign its construction to Akbar for the bath of his infant son, Prince Salīm. But a mutilated embossed Persian inscription on it, recording the name of Emperor Jahāngīr and the date 1019 A.H. (1611 A.D.)¹, leads one to suppose that the bowl has some association with the Emperor's marriage to Nūr Jahān in 1019 A.H. (1611 A.D.) and might have served as a curious present from or to the imperial bridegroom. The inscription is now much mutilated, but it had not so badly peeled off in 1919 when I happened to notice it first.² Out of 5 couplets originally inscribed, only two hemistiches were then decipherable, but these also are now much damaged (Plate IV). However, my old reading of the fragmentary epigraph is as follows:—

On the outer face of the Hauz-i-Jahāngīrī, along the edge, in embossed Nasta'liq characters:

(۱) پناه ملک و دین شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر

..... شهنشاه که از تدبیر او

..... (۲)³

.....

..... (۳)

..... وصف حوض نفرمای

..... (۴)

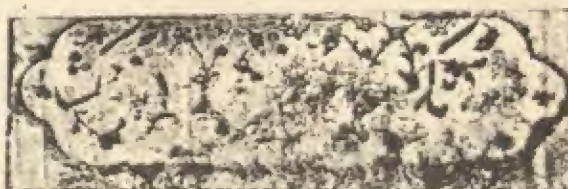
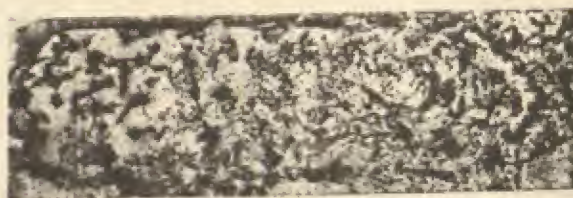
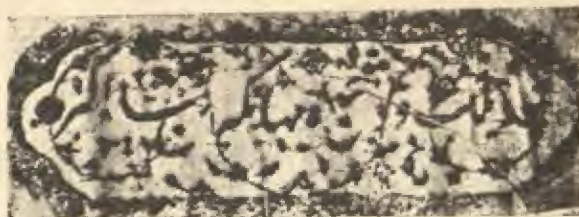
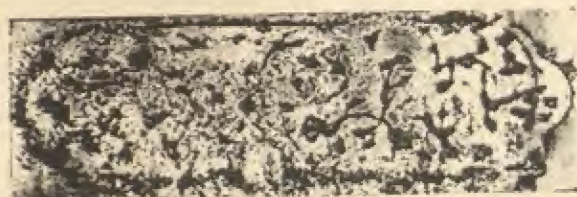
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¹ The chronogram yields 1019 by deducting the numerical value of the word زمزم (i.e., 94) from that of حوض جهانگیری (i.e., 1113).

² But see, T. W. Beale, *Miftāḥ-i-Tasawwif*, p. 220—Ed.

³ The letters in this panel have totally peeled off; hence no facsimile given.

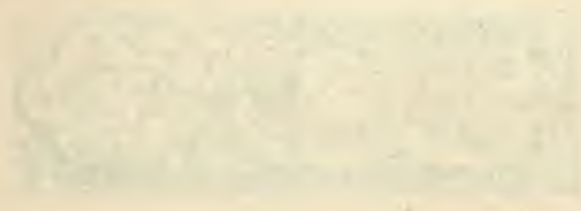
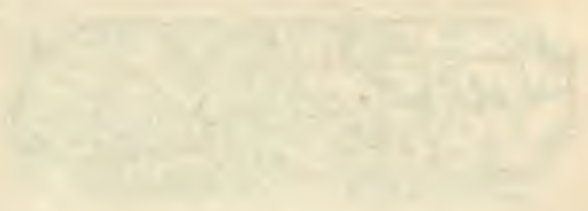
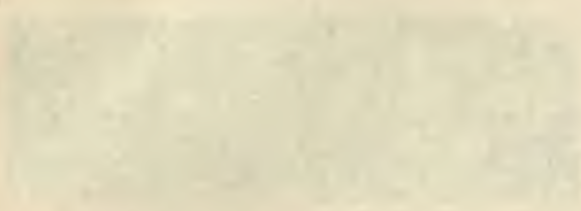
On the outer surface, along the edge, of the Hauz-i-Jahāngiri, Agra Fort



SCALE 1/3



Small, faint text or markings centered between the top two stamps.



(۵) طلب کردند چون از خضر [سا] ل او خرد گفتا

نہاں شد از خجالت ز [مز] م از [جو] ص جہانگیرے

TRANSLATION

(1) The defender of the state and religion, king Jahāngīr, son of the king Akbar, an Emperor of whose wisdom.....

(2-4)praise of the cistern.....

(5) When *Khizr*¹ was enquired of (the date of) its construction, Wisdom said,
' (The *Zamzam*)² being put to shame by the cistern of Jahāngīr concealed (itself) '.

INSCRIPTION NO. VI

The *Dīwān-i-Khās*, or Hall of Private Audience, was built by *Shāh Jahān* in 1046 A.H. (1636-37 A.D.). It is mentioned in contemporary or other Persian histories as the *Ghusl-Khāna* or Bath. It stands over the *Shish* Mahal and comprises two halls, the outer one connected with the inner one by three archways. The *Dīwān-i-Khās*, unlike the *Dīwān-i-Ām* (or Hall of Public Audience), was used by the Emperors exclusively for the reception of kings, ambassadors and nobles in private audience, and for the transaction of the most important affairs of the state with the help of their councils. The *Umarās* were compulsorily required to present themselves here every morning and evening or something of their pay was retrenched. In the reign of *Shāh Jahān*, the hall contained a beautiful small throne studded with jewels, which was replaced in Aurangzeb's time by the throne presented by *Ali Mardān Khān* which, according to the '*Ālamgirnāma*'³, could not be finished before the internment of the former for whom it was originally designed.

Along the frieze of the outer hall, at a height of about 20 ft. from the floor, is a long Persian epigraph composed in verse by *Mirzā Tālib Kalīm*, the poet-laureate of *Shāh Jahān*. It assigns the erection of the *Dīwān-i-Khās* to Emperor *Shāh Jahān* in 1046 A.H. (1636-37 A.D.) and is of considerable historical interest inasmuch as it refers to a chain of justice, not otherwise known to history, used by *Shāh Jahān* as well. *Jahāngīr* mentions in his *Memoirs*⁴ a gold chain hung in his palace in such a way that the other end of it was hanging outside the Fort on the river-side and this the oppressed could pull unobstructed. The Emperor was thus enabled to call them to his presence and redress their grievances. Hence, it is not unlikely that his son might also have followed suit and continued the use of the chain of justice referred to in the 5th and 6th couplets of the inscription. The epigraph is in *Nasta'liq* letters inlaid with black marble and runs as follows :—

Along the frieze of the outer hall :

TEXT (Plate Va)

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|---------------------------|---------|
| (۱) | ازیں دلکشا قصر عالی بنا | سر اکبر آباد شد عرش سا | (عثمان) |
| (۲) | بود کلگوش از جبین سپهر | نمایان چون دندان سین سپهر | |
| (۳) | سجود در این سرای سرور | کند سر نوشت بد از جیب دوز | |

¹ *Khizr* is the prophet who is supposed to guide travellers when they lose their way and go astray, particularly in deserts.

² Also known as Hagar's well, it is a well at Mecca held sacred by the Muslims.

³ '*Ālamgirnāma*, Persian text, p. 429.

⁴ '*Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Persian text (Allypore edition, 1854), pp. 3-4.

- (۴) شرافت یکے آید در شان او سعادت در آغوش ایوان او (ابوبکر)
 (۵) ره جو از بیش و کم بسته است بزنجیر عدلش ستم بسته است
 (۶) بنایم بزنجیر کز عدل شاه همه چشم شد در ره داد خواه
 (۷) بر احوال مردم چنان سر حساب که داند چه بینند شبها بخواب (الله محمد)
 (۸) در ایوان شاهی بصد احتشام چو خورشید بر چرخ یادا مدام
 (۹) چو ایوان او عالم آرد شد سر خاک از و آسمان سای شد
 (۱۰) شهنشاه آفاق شاه جهان که نازد باو روح صاحبقران (عمر)
 (۱۱) باین رونق و زیب و زینت مکان ندیده بروی زمین آسمان
 (۱۲) بود صحن بامش چو سیمای مهر بزیرش فتاده چو سایه سپهر
 (۱۳) بتاریخش اندیشه آورد رو در فیض شد باز از چار سو (علی)
 (۱۴) چنین گفت طبع حقایق شناس سعادت سراے و همایون اساس

TRANSLATION

(1) On account of this delightful and magnificent palace, the head of Akbarābād has come to touch the heavens.

(2) Its parapets against the forehead of the sky look like the teeth of *sin*¹ in the word سین (sky).

(3) Touching with forehead the gateway of this delightful mansion removes the inscription of misfortune from the forehead.

(4) Nobility is (but) a word in his praise (and) prosperity abounds in the skirts of his palace.

(5) The path of tyranny is absolutely closed,² (and) by his Chain of Justice oppression is stopped.

(6) I am proud of the chain inasmuch as, by the king's justice, it is ever ready to do justice to those who seek it.

(7) He is so well aware of the condition of his subjects that he comes to know what they see in their dreams at night.

(8) May he, in his royal palace, live for ever with a hundred splendours like the sun in the sky!

(9) When his palace decorated the world, the head of the earth, on account of it, touched the heavens.

(10) The Emperor of the world, *Shāh Jahān* (is the monarch) of whom the soul of *Ṣāhib Qirān*³ is proud.

(11) A building so graceful, beautiful and decorated, the sky has never seen on the earth's surface.

¹ The teeth of the letter سین are its sharp projections.

² The words بیش و کم (lit., more or less) here mean that oppression, whether more or less, was entirely stopped.

³ *Ṣāhib Qirān* (lit., Lord of happy conjunction) was the title borne by Amīr Timūr, better known as Tamerlane.

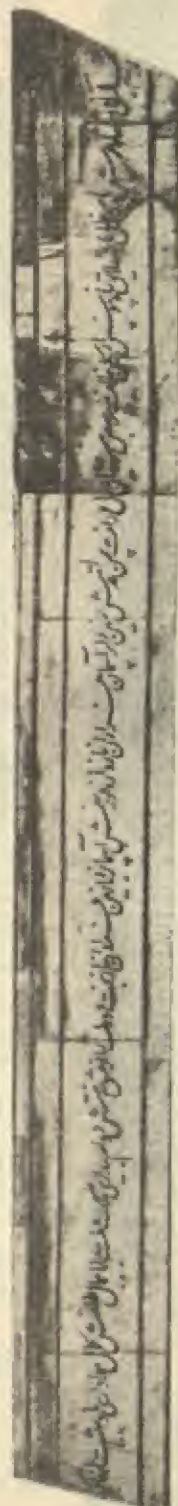
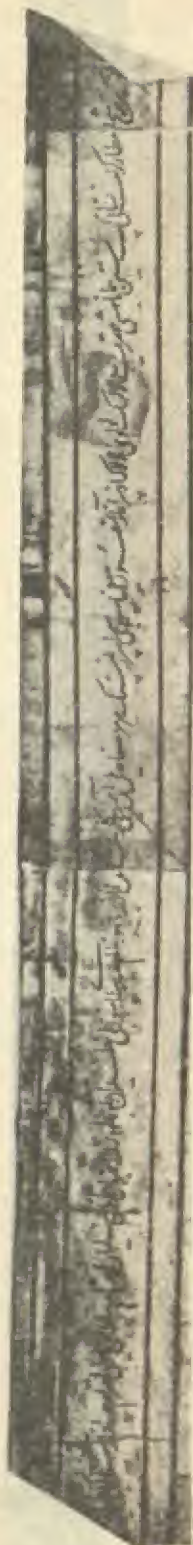
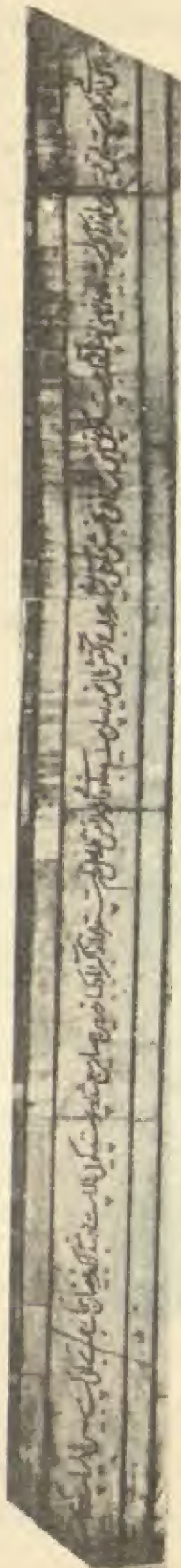
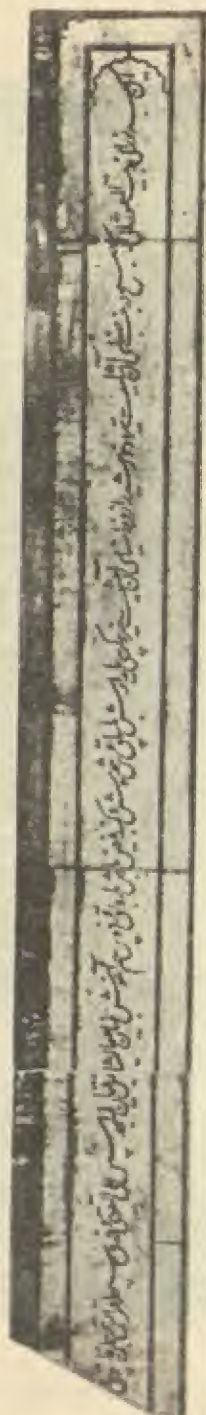
(a) Along the frieze of the outer hall, Diwān-i-Khāṣ, Agra Fort



(b) Over the south arcade of the Mandir Rājā Ratn, Agra Fort



On the entablature over the front row of arches of the prayer-chamber, Moti Masjid, Agra Fort



(12) The courtyard of its upper storey is like the forehead of the sun, (and) below it lies the sky like a shadow.

(13) (To inform me) of its date Reason appeared, the gates of munificence opened on all sides.

(14) So said the truth-loving mind : (It is an) asylum of prosperity and an auspicious mansion.

The chronogram "*Sa'ādat Sarāy-o-humāyūn asās*" gives the date of the erection of the *Diwān-i-Khās* 1046 A.H. (1636-37 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. VII

The *Moti Masjid* (Pearl Mosque) is a chaste structure of white marble situated on a high ground and commanding a good view of the imperial buildings. Its main entrance is on the east reached by two flights of steps, but the north and south walls also are pierced by a doorway connected by stone steps with the archway opening into the marble court. It is a good specimen of fine Saracenic art and, besides its severe simplicity, the graceful and well proportioned domes and intersections of engrailed arches and groined vaults are its particularly pleasant features. The entablature over the front row of arches of the prayer chamber bears a long inscription in choice Persian prose in *Nasta'liq* letters, inlaid with black marble, praising the structure and assigning its erection to Emperor *Shāh Jahān* in seven years' time (1648-55) at a cost of three lakhs of rupees. It was used as a hospital during the Mutiny of 1857. A reading of the above epigraph along the frieze is given below :—

TEXT (Plates VI and VII)

این کعبه لورائی و بیت المعمور ثانی که صبح در جنب صفائی آن شامیست تیره و خورشید
از فرط ضیاع آن چشمیست خیره کرسی پایدارش با ساق عرش همدوش و گنبد فیض بارش با رواق
فردوس هم آغوش بنیان عالی شائش تبیان لمسجد اسس علی التقوی و ذروه سپهر اقراش ترجمان
فاستوی و هو بالافق الاعلی هر گلدسته اش دسته نوری بالواد کواکب بسته یا فواره فیضی از
چشمه آفتاب بسته هر کلس زردیش شمع فروغ بخش قنادیل آسمانی هر محراب نور آگیش هلال
نوید رسان عبد جاودانی بر اطرافش قلعه لال قام مستقر اخلافت اکبر آباد که با زمردین حصار سبع
شداد پیوسته لوری خانه است دو بدر منور که بر فیضان سحاب رحمت برهانیست مبین یا دایره
است گرد مهر انور که بر ترشح اقطار کرامت نشانی است متین همانا بهشتی قصریست والا از یک
لولوی لالا که از سر آغاز معمود دلبا مسجله سراسر از سنگ مرمر مصفا عدیل آن بروی کار
نیامده و از بدو ظهور عالم معبره سراپا منور مجلی نظیر آن جلوه ظهور نداده بفرمان خاقان
سلیمان احتشام و سلطان خلیل احترام چهره افروز مسلمانی بانی مبانی جهانبنای شهنشاه عرش بارگاه
ظلی الله خلایق بنام موسی ارکان خلافت موصی بیدان عدل و دانت ایمن قدمش زمین را بر آسمان
هزاران ناز و ارفور نعمش آسمان را با زمین فراوان نیاز بخت و نوات را از عشق خدمتش دوام

بیداری ملک و ملت را با جمال طلعتش کمال هواداری باد بهشت از خاک درگاه فلک جاحش،
دریوزه گرے آتش دوزخ از آب شمشیر دشمن کاش و ظیفه خورے

(۱) بنای ملک را زو استواری اساس عدل را زو پایداری

(۲) مدام از چشمه تیغ ظفر خیز کند پیمانہ کفار لبریز

(۳) جنابش را فلک خدمتگذارے جبینش را سحر آئینه دارے

قطب آسمان دین پروری و شریعت نوازی مرکز دوران عدل گستری و مملکت طرازی
ابو المظفر شهاب الدین محمد صاحبقران ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی پادشاه و در عرش هفت
سال بصرف سه لک رویه او آخر سال بیست و ششم جلوس اقبال مانوس مطابق سنه هزار و شصت
و سه هجری پیرایه انجام در بر و تاج اختتام بر سر گرفته ایزد بیسپال بمیان نیت حق طویت این
پادشاه دین پناه همگنان را توفیق اداے طاعات و اقتناے حسنات روز افزون کناد و اجر
دلالت و هدایت آنرا بروزگار فرخنده آثار این حق گزین حقیقت آگاه عاید گرداناد آمین
یا رب العالمین

TRANSLATION

This resplendent *Ka'ba* and the heavenly prototype of the temple of Mecca (i.e., *Ka'ba*) is (so brilliant) that, in respect of its purity the dawn of morning is (like) the dusk of evening, and the sun on account of its profuse brightness is (like) an eye dazzled by brilliancy. Its firm plinth is as high as the foot of the sky, and its bounty-showering domes are embracing the roof of Paradise. Its magnificent foundation shows that it is a 'mosque founded on piety', and its heaven-touching pinnacles look as if seated on the highest sky. Every *guldasta* of it is like a bunch of light from the bright stars or like a fountain of beneficence emanating from the stream of the sun. Every golden pinnacle of it is like a lamp imparting light to the heavenly luminaries; every luminous arch of it is the new moon announcing the good news of the eternal 'Id. Around it is the red fort of the metropolis of Akbarābād, which, with its emerald-like walls, resembles the seven firmaments, and looks like a halo round the bright full moon, which is a clear proof of the advent of the clouds of Divine mercy (on the mosque); or it is a circle round the resplendent sun which is a sure sign of the coming fall of beneficent rain. Verily, it is a palatial building of Paradise made (as it appears) of a single invaluable pearl, for, since the beginning of this inhabited world, a parallel of this mosque, built entirely of chaste white marble, has never been produced, and since the creation of the world, no place of worship, like it, resplendent and brilliant from top to bottom, has ever appeared.

It was built by order of the king of Solomon's glory; the sultān of Abraham's honour; the embellisher of the face of Islam; the originator of the administration of the world; the emperor whose court is dignified as the sky; the shadow of God; the protector of the people; the strength-

ener (i.e., strength) of the pillars of State and the mansion of justice and benignity ; being graced by whose footsteps, the earth claims superiority over the heavens in a thousand ways, and on account of the profusion of whose gifts, the heavens acknowledge their utmost inferiority to the earth ; prosperity and wealth, through love of service to whom, always keep awake ; the country and religion on account of the (blessed) beauty of whose countenance, are flourishing ; the breezes of Paradise is a beggar to the dust of whose heaven-like court ; the fire of hell solicits a stipend from the temper (lit. آب : water) of whose sword which annihilates the enemies ; (verse) :—

- (1) Through whom the foundation of State is stable, (and) the basis of justice durable ;
- (2) always from the stream of whose victorious sword the infidels' goblets (of life) are filled (i.e., whose sword cuts down the infidels) ;
- (3) to whose orders the sky is obedient (like a slave), (and) for whose face the dawn of morning is a mirror-holder (i.e., servant) ;

the pole-star of the sky which supports Faith and Divine Law ; the centre of the circle of justice and administration ; Abu'l-Muza'ffar Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, the second lord of the (happy) conjunction (of planets), Shāh Jahān Bādshāh, Champion of the Faith ; and in a course of 7 years, at a cost of three lakhs of rupees, towards the end of the 26th year of the auspicious accession, corresponding to 1063 Hijrī, it put on its body the garment of finish and on its head the crown of completion (i.e., it was completed). Through the blessings of the righteous intentions of this king, defender of the Faith, may God without compeer inculcate in the people the ever-increasing desire of performing devotions and doing virtuous deeds ! And for their devotion and guidance may God award the truth-knowing and truth-loving king in his fortunate life ! Amen, O Lord of the Universe.

INSCRIPTION NO. VIII

East of the Approach Road to the Machchhī Bhawan and accessible from it, stands the Mandir Rāja Ratan (Temple of Rāja Ratan) in a quadrangle surrounded by Saracenic arcades. Traditionally so called, it was probably the residence of Rāja Ratan, the *faujdar* (general) of Mahārāja Prithī Indra, built in 1768 during the Jāt occupation of the Agra Fort. The building, Saracenic in design, seems to have been adapted to his requirements by Rāja Ratan whose name appears in the inscription over the south arcade.

Rāja Ratan was a son of Sūraj Mal Jāt of Bharatpūr. He succeeded his elder brother, Mahārāja Jawāhir Singh, when the latter was murdered in May 1768, but after a short reign he was himself stabbed in April 1769 by a beggar, named Rūpānanda. The assassin is related to have pretended to teach alchemy (الكيميا), or the art of transmuting copper into gold, to Rāja Ratan who was suspected of having been accessory to Jawāhir Singh's murder.

The name of Rāja Prithī Indra referred to in the inscription is rather puzzling. Apparently he was the ruler of the Jāts who occupied the Agra Fort during the years 1761-74. But the fact that this name is not mentioned in any history, leads one to think that it was probably an honorific title (Lord of the World) rather than the name.

In the annals of the Jāts, we read of certain titles of Rāja Jawāhir Singh, son of Sūrajmal, viz., "Braj-Indra" and "Bhārat-Indra," but not "Prithī-Indra." Now since the noble mansion was built in 1182 A.H. (1768 A.D.), or in the reign of Jawāhir Singh, the title of Prithī-Indra appears to refer to him, and the inscription is therefore of particular interest inasmuch as it speaks of a title of Jawāhir Singh not known to history. It may, however, be argued that 'Prithī-Indra Shajā'

was perhaps the title assumed by Sūrajmal himself, in imitation of which his son Jawābir Singh adopted the two titles cited above, for Kavi Sūdan, the poetical biographer of the former, calls him 'Sujān' and 'Sujā' which may perhaps have been corrupt forms of 'Shajā' used in the epigraph. But since Sūrajmal fell in battle with the Rohella chief Najību'd-Daula in 1763, or full five years before the erection of the monument in question, its assignment to Rāja Jawāhir Singh is evidently plausible.

Over the central arch, between the sandstone brackets, are three stone tablets bearing five Persian couplets inscribed in *Nasta'liq* letters. From calligraphical point of view the inscription does not compare favourably with the Mughul epigraphs in general and those of Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān in particular and tends to serve as a good specimen of the decadent style of writing which became more marked about the end of the Mughul period. It reads as follows:—

TEXT (Plate Vb)

Tablet No. 1

هو الكافي

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۱) چون ز مهراج پرتوی اندر شجاع گشت این قلعه روتن و زیبا

Tablet No. 2

(۲) عادل و اعتضاد راجه رتن نین سکھه فوجدار اهل سخا

(۳) خانه بهجت مراے حسب الحكم کرد تعمیر خوش نشان بقا

Tablet No. 3

(۴) باد منکوب دشمن بانی دولت الدیش سینه شاد و صفا

(۵) دوش هاتف نظیر جنت را با مکان نجسته داد نشان

۱۱۸۲

TRANSLATION

Tablet No. 1

He is Sufficient.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

(1) When by the (presence of the) brave Mahārāja, the lord of the world, this Fort became resplendent and decorated,

Tablet No. 2

(2) the just and noble Rāja Ratan Nainsukh, the generous *Faujdar*,

(3) built, under the (Rāja's) orders, this felicitous house as a beautiful ever-lasting memorial.

Tablet No. 3

(4) May the enemy of the builder be ever cursed and the well-wisher happy and gay!

(5) Last night the heavenly voice spoke of this second paradise as the auspicious house. 1182 A.H. (1768-69 A.D.).

The words 'Bā Makān-i-Khujista' yield the date 1182 A.H. (1768-69 A.D.).

INSCRIPTIONS FROM MANER

BY SAYYID YŪSUF KAMĀL BUKHĀRĪ

The Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions, in the course of his tour in the Province of Bihar in 1950, had collected from Maner, a small town in the District of Patna, inked rubbings of a number of inscriptions which he kindly made over to me for decipherment and publication in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Arabic and Persian Supplement). Of them four are from the mausoleum of Ḥaẓrat Makhdūm Shāh Daulat of Maner, known as the *Qhholi Dargāh*, one from the *Baṭī Dargāh* or the tomb of Ḥaẓrat Makhdūm Shāh Yaḥyā Manerī, two from the *Jāmi' Masjid* in the Muḥallāh Qaṣṣāb Tola and one from the grave of Tangar Qulī Khān nearby. One epigraph which has been recently collected by me is from a certain wall to the north of the tombs of Ḥaẓrat Ḥājī Nizāmu'd-Dīn and Ḥājī Šafi'u'd-Dīn and I chose to include it in the above collection.

Maner, a village about twenty miles west of Patna, is a place of sufficient antiquity and historical eminence. It is situated 25° 38' N and 84° 53' E on the bank of the river Son which used to flow just beneath it in ancient times but is now about two miles away from it. It is a beautiful health resort and attracts people from far off places. It is really well worth a visit because of the saints' tombs which are of sufficient historical and architectural importance.

Although almost in ruins now, Maner must have once been a large and well populated town. Its ancient monuments speak of its former glory. With the fall of the Mughul Empire, it declined gradually so much so that today it is the headquarters of a *Parganah* with a Police Station, a Post Office, and a Dispensary. Old Persian documents, still traceable, bear testimony to its being a *Daldah* or a town and refer to its *Adālatu'l-'Aliah* or supreme court, and this tends to show that Maner must have been an important administrative centre during the Muslim rule.

Local tradition avers that in ancient times it was an important centre of political, religious, commercial and cultural activities of the Buddhist scholars and saints for a considerable period and an image of lion known as 'Sadaul' bears testimony to this.

According to Firishṭa¹, Maner was founded by Firūz Rāi, son of Kesho Rāi, who was a direct descendant of Noah in the eighth degree, but the authenticity of his statement is rightly questioned as he has neither quoted an authority in support of his assertion nor traced the genealogy of Firūz Rāi accurately. A careful exploration of its ruins and mounds, however, reveals that Maner is of considerable antiquity dating as far back as the pre-Christian era.

The early history of Maner is obscure. Ḥāfiẓ Šamsu'd-Dīn Aḥmad in his article on "Maner and its historical remains"², observes that its earliest mention is found in a copper-plate, dated 1126 A.D., in the possession of a Brahmin, in connection with a grant made to a Brahmin by King Govinda Chandra of Qannauj. The plate contains the Raja's instructions to the Brahmin to pay a number of duties including the 'Turk's duty' which tends to hint that the Turks had reached the soil of Maner and settled long before Bakhtiyār Khaljī's conquest of Bihar in 1197 A.D. Its earliest reference in the *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* is found in connection with the conquest of Bihar and Bengal by Bakhtiyār Khaljī.

Another tradition has it that one Ḥaẓrat Momin Ārif came from Yamen and settled there. The Raja of Maner grew jealous of him for some reason or other and persecuted him severely. Consequently, Ḥaẓrat Momin Ārif had to leave Maner. Eventually, he decided to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca and in the course of his travels through the Muslim countries, on the way he narrated the

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* (Urdu tr.), Vol. I, p. 140; Vol. II, p. 375.

² *Proceedings of the Sixth All India Oriental Conference*, Patna, 1930, p. 124.

cruelties perpetrated on him by the Raja, with the result that Imām Muḥammad, known as Tāj Faqīh (not Tāj Fatih as given in the District Gazetteer)¹, a resident of Jerusalem, joined him with a party of his followers.² They came to India, invaded the kingdom of Maner, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Rajah. The chronogram of this defeat yields the date 576 A.H. (1180 A.D.) and runs as follows :—

یافت چون بر راجہ منیر ظفر داد امام از دین جہانے را نوی
ہست معقول از بزرگان سلف سال آن دین محمد شد قوی

Since then Maner came to be called the seat of great theologians and eminent mystics of Islam.

According to Mr. Quraishi³, the Imām "is believed to have handed over the country to Ikhtiyār Khaljī after the latter's conquest of Bihar and to have returned to Arabia leaving three sons behind to work as Islamic missionaries in this part of the country". But Maulavī Muḥammad Murādu'llāh⁴ and Hāfiz Shamsu'd-Dīn Aḥmad⁵ give a different account of Ḥaẓrat Tāj Faqīh's departure from India. They say that after a short rule, Imām Faqīh returned to Arabia making over the government of Maner to his sons and not to Bakhtiyār Khaljī and that subsequently, the country was made over to Bakhtiyār by Ḥaẓrat Makhdūm Shāh Yahyā of Maner, the grandson of Imām Tāj Faqīh when he chose to devote himself completely to meditation and mystical austerities. Still it is controversial whether Ḥaẓrat Yahyā Manerī or Ḥaẓrat Makhdūm Isrā'il (the eldest son of Imām Tāj Faqīh) made over the kingdom to Bakhtiyār. It is said that the country was made over to Bakhtiyār by the latter in 589 A.H. (1193 A.D.) as he was alive at the time of Bakhtiyār's conquest of Bihar and died in 593 A.H. (1196 A.D.). It is reasonably presumed by the local people that Ḥaẓrat Makhdūm Isrā'il being the eldest son of the Imām and thus entrusted with the administration of Maner by his father, was the right person to rule over the country and that it must be Makhdūm Isrā'il who, on Bakhtiyār's arrival, had chosen to devote himself to mystical contemplations after entrusting the reins of the government to Bakhtiyār. Moreover, it is hardly practicable for a boy of 16 or 17 years to rule over the country and also to take a keen interest in sufiistic meditations as is supposed by Maulavī Murādu'llāh and Hāfiz Shamsu'd-Dīn Aḥmad. Hence, in all probability, the kingdom of Maner seems to have been made over to Bakhtiyār by Ḥaẓrat Makhdūm Isrā'il and not by Ḥaẓrat Yahyā Manerī. Almost all saints and old sayyid families of Maner are descendants of Imām Muḥammad Faqīh.

The nine epigraphs dealt with in this article in chronological sequence, range from 1396 A.D. to 1866 A.D., and cover a period of 470 years. Their importance lies in their shedding light on social, religious and spiritual condition of Maner in those days. Of them, two record the construction of mosques, three, repairs of mosques, two erection of a gate, one the death of a great saint of the age, and one, the demise of an engineer. The epigraphs bear the names of rulers, governors, mystics, and poets. They shed light on the religious zeal of high officers and their attachment to great saints of that period.

These inscriptions are also of great calligraphical interest. The period from the 15th to the 19th centuries is important for the introduction and evolution of the *Thulth* and *Nasta'liq* styles of writing in India. *Naskh* reached its perfection in Persia from where it came to India and numerous varieties of it, including *Thulth*, which was prized most in the Mughul period, are seen gracing the ancient monuments. The *Nasta'liq* style, evolved from *Naskh* and *Ta'liq*, came in vogue in India

¹ District Gazetteer of Patna by L. S. S. O' Malley, p. 203.

² Old documents in the possession of the present Sajjada Nashin at Maner.

³ List of Bihar and Orissa Monuments by M. H. Quraishi, p. 63.

⁴ Aḥār-i-Maner, pp. 3-5.

⁵ Proceedings of the Sixth All India Oriental Conference, Patna, 1930, p. 127.

in the early 16th century, as the oldest *Nasta'liq* inscription so far discovered in India dates back to 928 A.H. (1521 A.D.). It became so popular under the patronage of the Mughuls that it soon replaced *Naskh* which met with the fate of *Kūfic* in having been reserved for religious purposes only. This script reached its perfection in the reign of the Emperor *Shāh Jahān* and this is borne out by six of these inscriptions (Nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9). One of these epigraphs (No. 1) belonging to the *Tughlaq* period, executed in *Naskh* letters, marks the transition period of *Naskh* and *Thulth*. As stated, *Naskh* was then reserved for religious texts, but *Thulth* was used for historical purposes. Later on, *Naskh* and *Thulth* scripts both came to be used for religious purposes, leaving the secular and non-religious subjects to be written in *Nasta'liq* characters.

The language of these inscriptions is mostly Persian, except of one which is Arabic. Seven inscriptions are in Persian verse, one in Arabic verse and the remaining is an admixture of Arabic and Persian. Persian came to be regularly adopted for epigraphical records at the close of the 13th century since the reign of *Khaljīs*. A critical study of the epigraphs of *Khalji*, *Tughlaq*, *Sayyid* and *Lodī* periods reveals how steadily Persian was gaining ground against Arabic in the domain of epigraphy and how under the Mughuls, Arabic was reserved for religious texts only.

INSCRIPTION NO. I

In a dwarf wall to the north of the graves of the saints *Hājī Nizāmu'd-Dīn* and *Hājī Ṣafīu'd-Dīn*, under the lamp niches, is built an inscription tablet of black marble (2'2" × 8") at a height of 2'8" from the ground. The epigraph is in Persian verse, consisting of two lines, divided into eight equal panels each bearing a hemistich, executed in *Naskh* style in relief. It assigns the original construction of a mosque to *Jalīlu'l Haq*, a celebrated saint of his age, and its rebuilding to *Ḥammād Khaṭīr Būzubair* during the reign of *Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh* in 798 A.H. (1396 A.D.). Thus evidently, the inscription slab originally belonging to a mosque which has ceased to exist, has been fixed in its present position subsequently and has nothing to do with the tombs of *Hājī Ṣafīu'd-Dīn* and *Hājī Nizāmu'd-Dīn*.

Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh referred to in the epigraph is probably *Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh Tughlaq* who reigned from 1393 A.D. to 1398 A.D. The saint *Jalīlu'l Haq* was the son of *Ḥazrat Shaikh Yahyā*, the patron saint of Maner and lies buried near the grave of his father in Maner.

Unfortunately, nothing is traceable about *Ḥammād Khaṭīr Būzubair* in the records available in this office, but he seems to be a devout Muslim who considered his sacred duty to build or repair a mosque which is regarded as the 'House of God'.

TEXT (Plate VIII a)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (۱) شہ محمود سلطان مہذب | بحمد الله کہ در عہد شہ انجب |
| (۲) جلیل الحق ز اقطاب مقرب | بہیں مسجد کہ بد بانی اول |
| (۳) عمارت کرد باز از سر مرتب | چو حماد خطیر بو زیبر است |
| (۴) بعصمت دار بنیادش تو لے دہ | ز ہجرت ہنمد و ہشت و نود بود |

TRANSLATION

(1) Praise be to Allāh, that in the reign of the noblest king, *Maḥmūd Shāh*, the cultured *Sultān*,

(2) this magnificent mosque whose first founder was *Jalīlu'l Haq*, one of the favourite *Qutbs*,

¹ It may perhaps be correctly read as شہ در عہد انجب شہ —Ed.

(3) was constructed anew by Ḥammād Khaṭīr Būzubair.

(4) It was the year 798 of the migration (of the Holy Prophet) (1396 A.D.); O Lord, keep its foundation chaste.

INSCRIPTION NO. II

This inscription belongs to the grave of Tangur Qulī Khān near the mausoleum of Ḥazrat Maḥdūm Shāh Yahyā Manerī. It is carved in embossed letters on the headstone of the grave and measures $4'6\frac{1}{2}" \times 1'9"$. The upper portion of the tablet is arch-shaped, inscribed with the *Kalima* preceded by the words یا حی (O Everliving!), while the lower portion, rectangular in design, is divided horizontally into seven equal panels, each containing a line. The language is Persian, the first four lines being in verse (two couplets from Sa'dī, a well known Persian poet) while the rest are in prose. It is executed in *Nasta'liq* style and records the death of Tangur Qulī Khān, the occupant of the grave in A. H. 983 (A.D. 1575).

Tangur Qulī Khān of Badakhshān¹ was the reputed engineer entrusted with the construction of the tank and certain other projects by Ibrāhīm Khān Kākar, but he did not live long to complete the projects.

My reading of the epigraph is given below :—

TEXT (Plate VIII b)

- | | |
|------|----------------------------------|
| (۱) | یا حی |
| (۲) | لا اله الا الله |
| (۳) | محمد رسول الله |
| (۴) | درینا که بے ما بسی روزگار |
| (۵) | بروید کل و بشکند نو بهار |
| (۶) | کسانے که از ما بغیب اندرند |
| (۷) | بیایند و بر خاک ما بگذرند |
| (۸) | فوت ثواب مرحومی مغفوری |
| (۹) | تنگر قلی خان ابن می (sic.) شیخ |
| (۱۰) | الخشانی سنه نهصد و هشتاد و سه |

TRANSLATION

- (1) O Everliving.
 (2) There is no god but Allāh.
 (3) Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh.
 (4-5) ' Alas, for a long time in our absence, the rose will be blossoming and the new spring will be blooming.
 (6-7) Those who are not with us, will come and visit our remains.'

¹ Proceedings of the Sixth A. I. O. Conference, Patna, 1930, p. 128 ; Dist. Gazetteer of Patna, p. 202.

(a) On a dwarf wall near the tomb of Hāji Šafī'ū-d-Dīn and Hāji Nizām'ū-d-Dīn, Maner



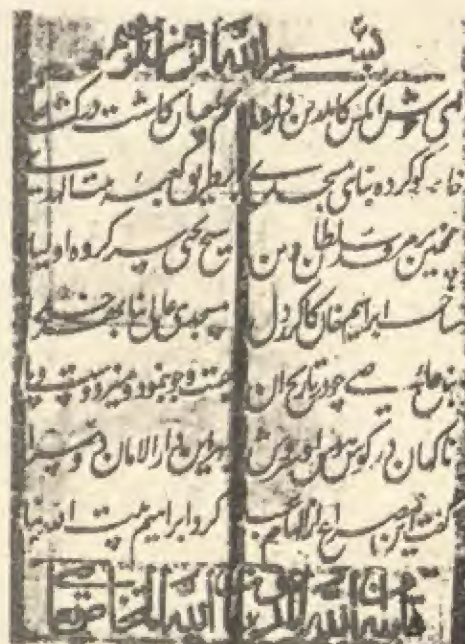
SCALE 23

(b) On the headstone of the grave of Tangut Qull Khān, Maner



SCALE 11

(c) Above the central gateway of the Badī Dargāh, Maner



SCALE 17

(8-10) Nawāb Tangur Qulī Khān, the favoured and pardoned son of Shaikh..... of Badakhshān, died (in the) year nine hundred eighty three (A. H.-1575 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. III

This epigraph is reported to have been originally fixed to the central gateway, at a height of nearly 16' from the floor of the courtyard, in the façade of the *Barī Dargāh* mosque. It is 2' x 1'6" and assigns the construction of a mosque near the grave of *Ḥaḡrat Shāh Yahyā* to *Ibrāhīm Khān Kākar*, governor of Gujarat. The composer of the verses was 'Āṣī. The language of the epigraph is Persian verse carved in *Nasta'liq* characters in relief. The chronogram yields the date 1014 A. H. (1605-6 A. D.).

The personages mentioned in the inscription deserve special notice inasmuch as they were important historical figures of their age. *Ḥaḡrat Shaikh Yahyā*¹ belonged to Maner, and is known as *Ḥaḡrat Sultānu'l Makhdūm Shāh Yahyā Manerī*. He was the grandson of *Ḥaḡrat Imām Muḥammad Faqīh*, the conqueror of Maner and was himself a great saint, esteemed most by the high and low alike. Men of repute and some of the Sultāns of Northern India were either his disciples or admirers. He died in 690 A. H. (1291 A.D.), at the ripe age of about 110 years² and lies buried in the *Barī Dargāh*. Even his tomb has been attracting people from far and near, and there is historical evidence to show that Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq, Sultān Sikandar Lodī, Bābur³ and the famous musician Tān Sain visited it, as *Tūzūk-i-Bāburi* and the *farmāns* preserved in the library of the *Khānqāh* at Maner bear testimony to this. The mosque attached to the *Barī Dargāh* wherein *Ḥaḡrat Yahyā Manerī* lies buried was built by *Ibrāhīm Khān Kākar*⁴ who was a disciple of *Ḥaḡrat Daulat Shāh* of Maner. It is related that, although born in a humble condition, *Ibrāhīm Khān Kākar* rose to a great position and eminence through the recommendation of his spiritual leader and also through his own merits and honesty of purpose. 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān, *Khān-i-Khānān* posted him in the province of Gujarat. *Ibrahim Khān* proved his worth and valour and in Emperor Jahāngīr's time, the title of *Dilāwar Khān* was conferred on him. He died a natural death in 1028 A.H. (1619 A.D.). Most of the monuments at Maner were built by him. Mr. Quraishi has confused *Ibrāhīm Khān Kākar* with *Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang*. They are not identical.

'Āṣī⁵, the composer of the verses, was the nom-de-plume of *Amānu'llāh*, who was a resident of the town of Sandilāh in the suburb of Lucknow, and a disciple of *Ḥaḡrat Makhdūm Shāh Daulat Manerī*. The text of the inscription is cited below :—

TEXT (Plate VIII c)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

(۲) لے خوش آنکس کاندوین دار فنا تخم احسان کاشت در کشت بقا

¹ *Qāmūs-al-Moshāhīr*, Vol. II, p. 290 ; *District Gazetteer of Patna*, p. 202 ; *Āḡhār-i-Maner*, pp. 9-23.

² Scholars are at variance regarding *Shaikh Yahyā*'s date and place of birth. Maulavi Murādu'llāh thinks that he was born in 572 A. H. (1176 A.D.) at the village of Qadas *Khalīlu'r Raḥmān* and that he accompanied his grandfather, *Ḥaḡrat Tāj Faqīh* to India in 576 A.H. (1180 A.D.) at the age of 4 years (*Āḡhār-i-Maner*, p. 9), while according to *Hāfiẓ Shamsu'd Dīn Aḥmad*, the date of his birth is 576 A.H. (1180 A.D.). The *District Gazetteer of Patna* mentions Maner as his place of birth and the same view is held by local people.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Dāwūd*, in Elliot-Dowson's *History*, Vol. IV, p. 462, and Bābur's *Memoirs* (*Tūzūk-i-Bāburi*), p. 478.

⁴ *Ma'āthīru'l-Umarā*, Vol. II, pp. 9-14 and the *Proceedings of the Sixth A. I. O. Conference*, Patna, 1930, p. 128.

⁵ *Āḡhār-i-Maner*, p. 30.

- (۳) خاصه کو کرده بنام مسجدی بر طریق کعبه بیت الهدی
 (۴) همچنین بر مرقد سلطان دین شیخ یحیی سر گروه اولیا
 (۵) ساخت ابراهیم خان کاکر زدل مسجد عالی بنا بهر خدا
 (۶) بنده عاصی چو در تاریخ آن جست و جو بنمود و میزد دست و پا
 (۷) ناگهان در گوش هوش او سروش بهر این دار الامان دوسرا
 (۸) گفت این مصراع از الهام غیب کرد ابراهیم بیت الله بنا
 (۹) قائله من الله المدعو بامان الله المتخلص بعاصی

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate.
 (2) O, happy in this perishable world is he who has sown the seed of beneficence in the field of eternity ;
 (3) especially he, who has founded a mosque like the Kāba, the house of precepts,
 (4) Consequently, at the tomb of Shāikh Yahyā, the king of the Faith (and) the head of saints,
 (5) Ibrāhīm Khān Kākar erected, with all his heart, a magnificent mosque for the sake of God.
 (6) When the slave 'Āṣī made endeavours for its chronogram,
 (7-8) suddenly the Angel, in respect of this abode of peace in both the worlds, whispered into the ear of his wisdom this hemistich, by way of inspiration : *Ibrahim built the house of God* (1014 A.H.=1605-6 A.D.).
 (9) The composer of this, as detailed by God, is known as Amānu'llāh with his nom-de-plume 'Āṣī.

INSCRIPTION NO. IV

This inscription is dated 1017 A. H. (1608 A.D.), and records the death of Ḥaẓrat Makhdūm Shāh Daulat Manerī who lies buried in the Chhotī Dargāh built in 1025 A. H. (1616 A.D.). The inscription slab is of black basalt, fixed over the entrance of the mortuary at a height of 9'6" from the floor of the verandah. The epigraph is in Persian verse, consisting of five lines, divided into ten horizontal panels, each bearing a hemistich, executed in raised *Nasta'liq* letters. The composer of these verses also is (Amānu'llāh) 'Āṣī, whose name occurred in the previous epigraph (No. III).

Ḥaẓrat Shāh Daulat referred to in the inscription was a direct descendant of Ḥaẓrat Shāh Yahyā Manerī mentioned above. His real name was Ḥaẓrat Makhdūm Ābā Yazīd, but was called by his Pir as Dīwān Shāh Daulat. He was an eminent mystic of his age, known for his austerities far and wide. Most of the Sultāns of Northern India and noblemen were either his disciples or admirers, 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān being one of them. He attained the age of about 125 years and his tomb is an object of great reverence even to-day.

It will not be out of place to narrate here an interesting anecdote about him. According to the *Āthār-i-Maner*, a Sādhu came to Ḥaẓrat Makhdūm Daulat Manerī, and presented a diamond to him. Not attaching any importance to it, he threw it into a tank nearby. The Sādhu got

annoyed at this and asked him to return the precious stone. Since he had failed to appreciate its worth, Makhdūm Shāh Daulat calmly asked him to pick it out of the tank lying therein. He dived and finding several diamonds, much more valuable than his own, already lying there, he wondered which one to pick up.

The inscription reads as follows :—

TEXT (Plate IX a)

- (۱) قطب اقطاب زمان قدوة دین آنکه از مهر و مه انور بوده
 (۲) شاه دولت که سوی عالم قنص چون ز گیتی بسفر در بوده
 (۳) سال هجرت خرد عاصی یافت وارث حال پیمبر بوده

* * * *

- (۱) از بهر تثار این بنای آباد از درج دلم دو در تاریخ فتاد
 (۲) اول بشمر روضه احباب و دویم مانند بهشت جاودان ایمن باد

TRANSLATION

- (1) The Qutb of the Qutbs of the world, the leader of the Faith, brighter than the sun and the moon,
 (2) (was) Shāh Daulat. When he departed from this world to the world of purity,
 (3) 'Āsī's wisdom found the year of his migration (in the words) : *He had been, of his age, the heir of the Prophet* (1017 A. H.=1608 A.D.).

* * * *

- (1) As a gift to this prosperous building, two pearls of chronograms fell from the casket of my heart.
 (2) Read the first one as the *Friends' tomb* and the second as *May it ever be the abode of peace like the Heaven* (1025 A. H.=1616 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. V

The epigraph is fixed over the main gate of the Chhoti Dargāh or the tomb of Hazrat Makhdūm Shāh Daulat Manerī, at a height of 19'7" from the platform. Measuring 3'8"×1'5", it is in Arabic verse executed in elegant Naskh characters in relief. It consists of three lines, recording the construction of the main gate of the said Dargāh in 1022 A. H. (1613 A.D.). My reading of the epigraph is as follows :—

TEXT (Plate IX b)

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 (۲) كنت في فكر سن هذا الباب كان قلبي بحوله ما كنا
 (۳) قال عقلي على طريق الامر قل من دخله كان آمنا

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate. There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Apostle of Allāh.

(2) I was in search of a chronogram for this gate ; my heart was at rest by His benevolence.

(3) My mind said as a command (to me) : *Say, Whoever enters it shall be safe.*

The chronogram is contained in the words قل من دخله كان آمنا. The date according to the calculation of the chronogram comes to 1022 A.H., but Mr. Ḥamīd Quraishī¹ gives 982 A. H., Maulavī Murādu'llāh² calculates 1028 A.H., while Ḥāfiẓ Shamsu'dDīn Aḥmad³ writes 1032 A.H. All the three different dates given above are evidently erroneous. Maulavī Murādu'llāh wrongly reads the letter "و" between the words قل and من but there is no trace of "و" in the inscription.

INSCRIPTION NO. VI

It is carved on a stone slab, 10'3" × 1'3", fixed over the main gate of the small mosque to the west of the tomb in the *Chhotī Dargāh*, at a height of 17'3" from ground floor. The inscription consists of three lines, of which the first two comprise religious text executed in *Thulth* script. The historical epigraph is composed by (Amānu'llāh) 'Āṣī.⁴ It is in Persian verse carved in *Nasta'liq* letters in relief and records the erection of a mosque by Ibrāhīm Khān⁵ in 1028 A.H. (1618 A.D.). The text of the inscription is cited below :—

TEXT (Plate IX c)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ - لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُوْلُ اللّٰهِ - اَللّٰهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلٰی
مُحَمَّدٍ وَ عَلٰی اٰلِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَ بَارِكْ وَسَلِّمْ - اَشْهَدُ اَنْ لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِیْكَ لَهُ وَ اَشْهَدُ اَنْ
مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَ رَسُوْلُهُ قَالَ اللّٰهُ [تَعَالٰی]

(۲) [اِنْ اَوَّلَ] بَيْتٍ وَضَعَ لِلنَّاسِ لِاِذْیْ بَيْكَةِ مَبَارَكَا وَ هَدٰی لِلْعَالَمِیْنَ * فِیْهِ اٰیٰتٌ [بِیِّنٰتِ]
مَقَامِ اِبْرٰهَیْمِ وَ مَنْ دَخَلَہُ كَانَ اٰمِنًا وَ شَہِدَ عَلَی النَّاسِ حُجَّ الْبَیْتِ مِنْ اَسْطَاعِ الْیَدِ سَبِیْلًا وَ مَنْ کَفَرَ قَانَ
اللّٰهُ غَنٰی عَنِ الْعَالَمِیْنَ

(۳) چو [این عالی بنا]ے کعبہ تمثال جہاں آرا

بفیض صانع قادر تمامی اقتضا کرده

دل عاصی همی جست [از خرد] ال بناے او

خرد گفتا چو ابراہیم بیت [اللہ بنا کرده]

¹ *List of Ancient monuments, Bihar and Orissa*, p. 63.

² *Āḥār-i-Maner*, p. 50.

³ *The Sixth A. I. O. Conference*, Patna, 1930, p. 136.

⁴ Obviously the same poet mentioned in epigraphs nos. 4 and 5.

⁵ Ibrāhīm Khān is the same person who is mentioned in the inscription no. 4.

⁶ Mr. Quraishī reads the word سراے for بناے in the third line of the inscription. The epigraph records the construction of a mosque and so the word بناے suits more than سراے for its foundation. (*List of Bihar and Orissa monuments*, p. 65).

(a) Over the entrance of the mortuary of the Chhoti Dargāh, Maner



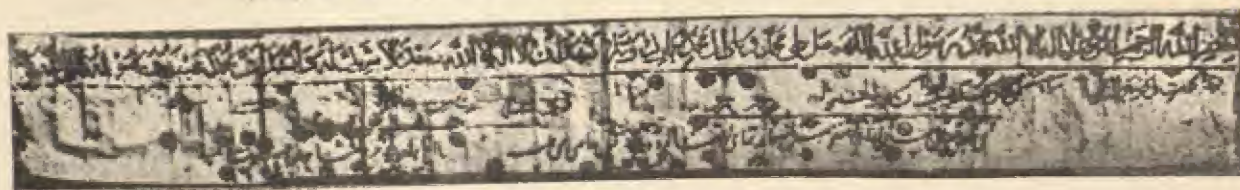
SCALE · 17

(b) Over the main gate (in the centre) of the Chhoti Dargāh, Maner



SCALE · 15

(c) Over the main gate of a small mosque in the Chhoti Dargāh, Maner



SCALE · 07

TRANSLATION

(1-2) In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate. There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh. O God, bestow peace on Muḥammad and on the descendants of Muḥammad, and bless them (all). I testify that there is no god but Allāh. He is alone and has no compeer; and I testify that Muḥammad is His slave and Apostle. The Most High Allāh has said: *Verily, the first house built for the people (for the worship of one God) is that at Bekka (Mecca); it is a blessing and a guidance for all the universe. In it are clear signs, for example, Maqām-i-Ibrāhīm. And whosoever enters it is safe. And men have a duty towards God—that of performing the Hajj at this house—only such of the men as can afford to go there. And he who does not believe, well, Allāh is independent of all the universe*¹.

(3-4) When this lofty Ka'ba-like, world-adorning edifice was completely finished through the benevolence of the powerful Maker, the heart of 'Aṣī was consulting the mind for the year of its construction. The mind said: *Like Ibrāhīm he erected the House of Allāh* (1028 A.H.=1618 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. VII

This inscription, dated 1032 A.H (1622 A.D.) is fixed to the left side of the inscription No. 5 at a height of 19'7" from the plinth, over the lofty gateway on the north, which is the main entrance to the enclosure of the Chhoti Dargāh. The inscription slab measures 2'7"×1'3" and contains three persian verses, executed in ordinary *Nasta'liq* letters in relief. This epigraph also records the construction of the same main gate of the Dargāh, as referred to in the inscription No. 5.

The inscription is much obliterated and indistinct. Hāfiẓ Shamsu'd-Dīn Aḥmad² and Maulavī Murādu'llāh³ have read the first line as چوں درین روضه مقس شاه روئے زینت نهاده بر اتمام but Mr. Quraishi⁴ gives the reading as چوں در روضه مقس شاه روئے رفعت نهاده بر اتمام. Since in the first hemistich only the letters ر د ن and ه in the end, and in the second hemistich only ر in the beginning and م are readable and the remaining portion of the verse has completely peeled off, it is not possible to say definitely whose reading is correct. But as this epigraph *in situ* is fixed over the main entrance of the Dargāh, it must naturally record the construction of this gate and so in the first hemistich the word در seems to be preferable to درین and in the second hemistich رفعت appears to be more appropriate than زینت. Again the last word of the last line is also obliterated. Maulavī Murādu'llāh and Hāfiẓ Shamsu'd-Dīn Aḥmad decipher it as دوام but Mr. Quraishi calls it مدام. As the word دوام or مدام forms part of the chronogram, it deserves careful scrutiny. If the word is read as دوام, the chronogram yields 1032 A. H. whereas with the word مدام suggested by Mr. Quraishi it yields 1066 A. H. There are reasons to support the local tradition that the gate under notice was started in 1022 A. H. because the central inscription (No. 5) recording the erection of the gate is dated 1022 A. H. and the same was completed 10 years after in 1032 A. H.

¹ Qur'ān, III, 98-99.

² *Proceedings of the A. I. O. Conference, Patna, 1950, p. 135.*

³ *Atthār-i-Maner, p. 50.*

⁴ *List of Bihar and Orissa monuments, p. 64.*

My reading of the inscription is given below :—

TEXT (Plate Xa)

- (۱) [چو] ن در [روضه مقدس] شاه
 [وے رفعت نهاده بر اتما] م
 (۲) سا [ل تاریخ من] ازو [جسم] تم
 خردم بهر [این نجسته] م نام
 (۳) بدعا لب کشوده و گفتا
 در دولت [کشاده باد دوام]

TRANSLATION

- (1) When the gate of the mausoleum of the Shāh raised its head towards completion,
 (2) I asked for its chronogram. In blessing this auspicious place,
 (3) Wisdom opened its lips and said : *May the gateway of Daulat¹ ever remain open (to the needy)*
 (1032 A.H.=1622 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. VIII

This epigraph is in Persian verse, carved on a stone slab, $2' \times 1'4\frac{1}{2}"$, fixed to the central *mihrāb* of the screen wall of the Jāmi' Masjid (to which a *madrasah* is attached), at a height of sixteen feet from the ground floor. The script is *Nasta'liq* of a plain type, executed in relief letters. The inscription consists of seven lines, the first containing the *Bismillah* and the last, the date 1103 A.H. (1691-92 A.D.) in figures and words both. Each of the remaining lines contains three hemistiches, but the couplets have their hemistiches arranged vertically, excepting the first one which is carved horizontally. The record assigns the construction of a mosque to Maulavi 'Abdu'ah Shakūr in the auspicious reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr, and subsequently to Ibrāhīm Khān, who built it afresh. The chronogram yields the same date as is given in figures (i.e., 1691 A.D.).

The last word in the second hemistich of the first verse is inscribed as کام but the ignorance of the sculptor is responsible for this mistake; it should be کلام not کام as the latter word does not scan correctly.

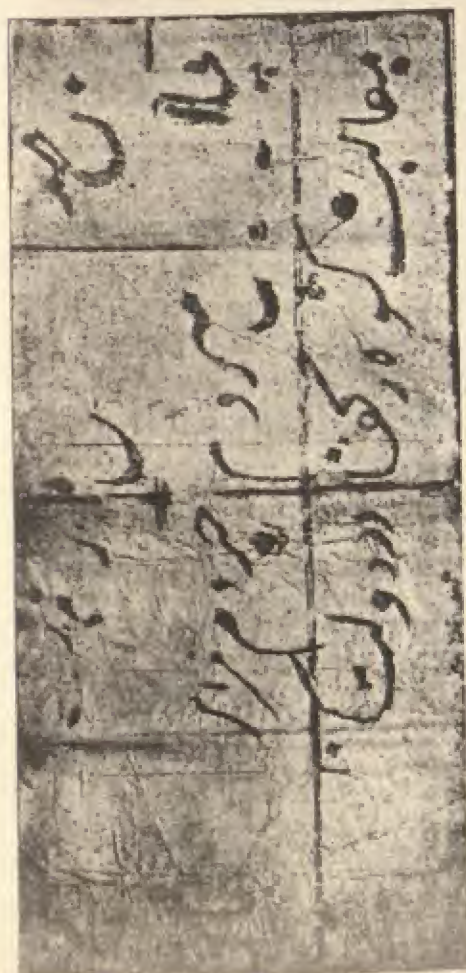
The following is the reading of the inscription :—

TEXT (Plate Xb)

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 (۲) شکر ایزد گو که از چون و چرا بیرونست نام
 کز سپاس او شود فرخنده دل شیرین کام (sic.)
 (۳) مولوی عبد الشکور از واصلان حق بگو
 پیشوای راه دین بود و طریقت را امام
 (۴) مسجدی آن مولوی افتاده بود و کهنه جائے
 کرد ابراهیم خان از نو بنائش انتظام

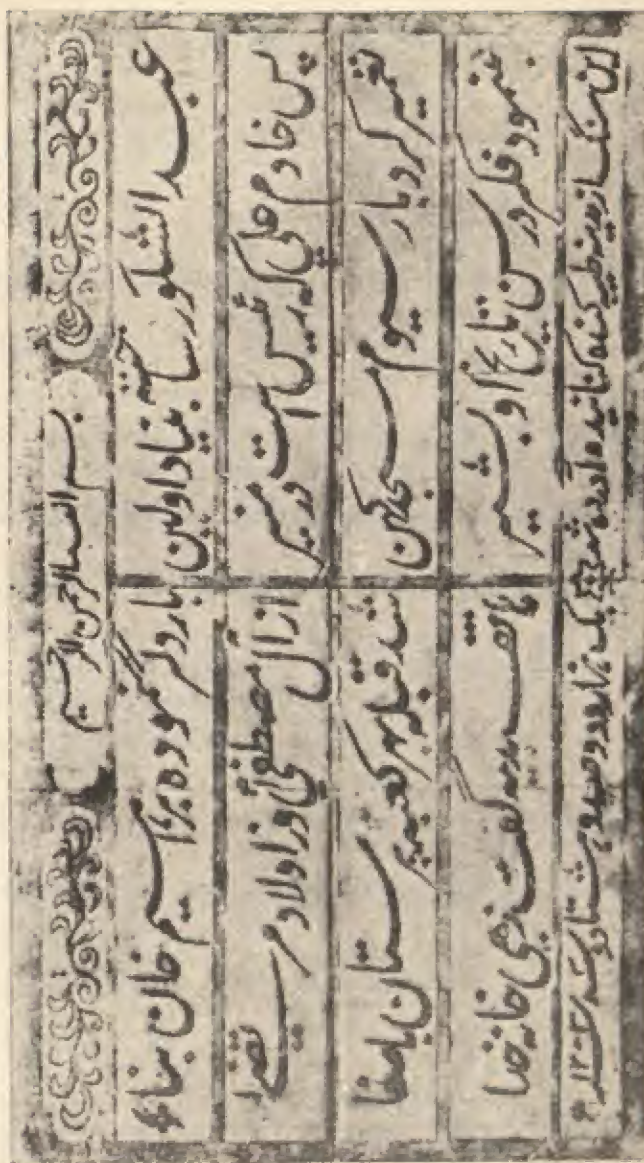
¹ There is a pun on the word Daulat which refers to Hazrat Makhdūm Shāh Daulat Maneri.

(a) Over the main gate (on the left) of the Chhoti Dargah, Maser



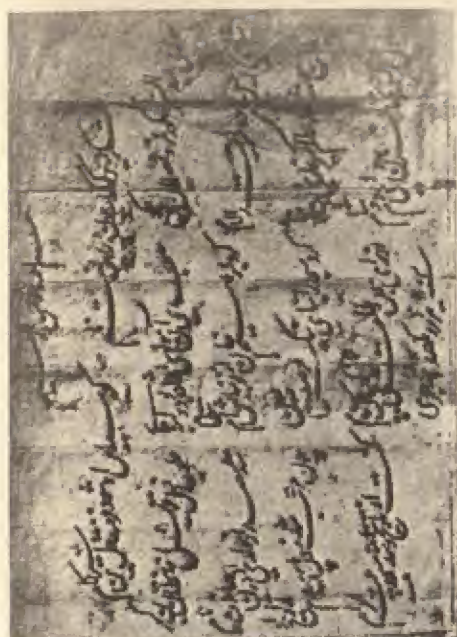
SCALE 1/2

(c) Below (b)



SCALE 1/2

(b) Over the central millwork of the screen wall of the Jami' Masjid, Maser



SCALE 1/2



- (۵) علوی نسل قریش [ز] خانخانان بن کبیر
 شد حصار از مولدی او در جهان فرخنده نام
 (۶) در زمان شاه عالمگیر غازی دین پناه
 عادل و کشور کشا فرمان رواے دوم و شام
 (۷) کرد مسجد را بنائے نیک از صدق و یقین
 از برائے سجده طاعت خدائے پاک نام
 (۸) چون مرتب شد ز دل پرسیدم [ا] ز تاریخ او
 گفت از تاریخ او شد مسجد بیت الحرام
 سنه ۱۱۰۳ یکمزار و یکصد و سه هجری

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Clement.
 (2) Offer thanks to God Whose existence does not admit of any 'How' or 'Why', and Whose praise fills the heart with delight and renders the tongue sweet.
 (3) Say that Maulavi 'Abdu'sh-Shakūr was one of those nearest to God, a pioneer of the faith and an Imām of the cult of mysticism.
 (4) On the old site of that Maulavi's mosque, which had collapsed, Ibrāhīm Khān made arrangements for the construction of a new one.
 (5) He (Ibrāhīm Khān) was a Quraishī and a descendant of 'Alī and descended from Khān-i-Khānān, son of Kabīr; the fort¹ was glorified in the world by his birth.
 (6) During the reign of Emperor 'Ālamgīr Ghāzī, the protector of the faith, the just, the conqueror of the country, the master of Rūm and Syria,
 (7) he founded an elegant mosque through (his) sincerity and belief (in God) for the worship of (lit. prostration to) the Holy God.
 (8) When completed, I asked for its date from my heart which said regarding its date
 (or the mosque of Ka'ba has been built).

Year 1103 One thousand, one hundred and three Hijri (1691-92 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. IX

It is fixed over the central *mihrāb* of the screen wall of the Jāmi' Mosque underneath the former inscription (No. 8). Carved on a marble slab measuring 2'1"×1'2", the epigraph is in Persian verse, executed in plain *Nasta'liq* in relief. The first line comprises *Bismillāh* and the next four divided into eight equal panels, arranged horizontally, assign the erection of a mosque first to Maulavi 'Abdu'sh-Shakūr and its subsequent extensive repairs, to Ibrāhīm Khān and Khādīm 'Alī. The composer of the verses was certain Bashīr. It is dated 1283 A.H. (1866 A.D.). The inscription slab was carved at Madina and transported to Maner.

¹ By Hīṣār is in all probability meant the town Hīṣār—Ed.

I read the text as follows :—

TEXT (Plate Xc)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

- (۲) عید الشکور ساختہ بنیاد اولین بار دگر نمود براہیم خان بنا
 (۳) پس خادم علی کہ رئیس است در منیر از آل مصطفیٰ و ز اولاد مرتضیٰ
 (۴) تعمیر کرد بار سیوم مسجد کهن شد قبلہ بہر کعبہ پرستان با صفا
 (۵) بنمود فکر در سن تاریخ او بشیر ہاتف بدیہہ گفت زہ خانہ خدا
 (۶) این سنگ از مدینہ طیبہ کندہ کنانیدہ آوردہ شد یک ہزار و دو صد و ہشتاد و سہ

سنہ ۱۲۸۳ھ

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
 (2) It was originally built by 'Abdu'sh-Shakūr and subsequently rebuilt by Ibrāhīm Khān.
 (3) Then, Khādim 'Alī, a nobleman of Maner, descending from Muṣṭafā (i. e., the Holy Prophet) and Murtaẓā (or the Holy Prophet's son-in-law, Ḥaẓrat 'Alī),
 (4) erected a third time the old mosque which became the Qibla for the pious devotees of the Ka'ba.
 (5) Bashīr thought for its chronogram; the invisible angel said at once: *Excellent house of God*.
 (6) Having been carved at Holy Madina, this stone was brought (here), one thousand two hundred and eighty three, 1283 A.H. (1866 A.D.).

TWO UNPUBLISHED ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF NUSRAT SHAH FROM SANTOSH PUR, DISTRICT HOOGHLY, BENGAL

By A. K. BHATTACHARYA, New Delhi

On an information from the Headmaster of the Bajua H. E. School at Santoshpur, Dist. Hooghly, Bengal, I was deputed in December 1950, to inspect an inscribed slab found in the vicinity of the said school. The slab, on examination, was found to contain an Arabic inscription in two lines cut in clear relief as Bengal basalt would admit of. The slab was lying loose on the ground a few yards away from a mosque, now partly in ruins, which, on inspection, was found to have another inscribed slab, fixed above the central arch at the entrance. The loose slab has since been presented to the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

The two inscriptions belong to the same Sulṭān of Bengal, viz., Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh and are dated in the same year viz., 938 A. H. (1530-31 A. D.). But, while the loose slab records the erection of the gateway of a mosque, the slab *in situ*, mentions the construction of a mosque. The mosque referred to in the latter inscription can obviously be no other than the mosque which contains the inscribed tablet. There is a very low mound in front of the mosque, which may have been the site of the gateway mentioned in the other inscription.

The mosque is situated on a plot of land a few yards to the north of the present District Board Road, which is better known as the Hooghly-Goghat Road. It has a fairly large tank to its east which is still known as Molla-pukur. The site is about four miles due north, on the other side of the river Dwārakeśvar, from a place known as Naisarāi on the Bus route, from Mulkāṭi on the Damodar to Ārāmbāgh in Dist. Hooghly. The place Naisarāi, as its name implies, must have been an important place of encampment during this period or subsequently, and owing to the importance of the Muslim colony here, the location of the royal encampment was thought suitable at this place. Only a few years later, we know, Sher Shāh established the road communications of his Sultanate on a firm basis. There was thus a network of *Khānqāhs* and *Sarāis* where the traveller, Hindu or Muslim, could find free food and shelter. This zealous builder of *sarāis* had one *sarāi* at every *kroh* of his famous roads and each *sarāi* had a mosque and a well, wherefrom food and drinking water for Hindus as well as Muslims were supplied. The situation of Naisarāi at so close a range from two big rivers, Damodar and Dwārakeśvar must have facilitated easy communication so necessary for both military and civil purposes. The fact that the mosque came into existence during the time of Nuṣrat Shāh, the son of Ḥusain Shāh, proves that the place being connected by the water-way of Dwārakeśvar with Damodar was already a centre of great importance in the early Sulṭān period.

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

As regards the orthography of this inscription which states the construction of the mosque in 938 A. H., we may note the following points. The two dots for the *ي* are sometimes above the letter e.g. in *بنى* and *النبى* and sometimes also beside it (e.g. in *عهد*). The *tashdīd* mark is also sometimes absent, as in the second occurrence of the word *السلطان* and also in *النبى* 'صلی' 'سلم' 'علو' etc. Sometimes also the dot for the *ن* is put at the right corner above instead of at the centre, as in the two occurrences of the word *السلطان* in the 2nd line of the inscription. Apart from the above noted peculiarities, the inscription is moderately correct in its orthographical arrangements and marks. The word *الله* is apparently left out after *خلد* in the inscription probably through inadvertence of the scribe. Further, by an artistic ingenuity, only one *ن* has been made to serve for two in the last two occurrences of the word *السلطان* in line 1.

The inscription records the erection of a congregational mosque, which is apparently the structure on which it was found. It mentions that the sanctuary was constructed in the time of the Sulṭān Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh, the son of Sulṭān Ḥusain Shāh in the year nine hundred and thirty-eight (of the Hijra era) and that its builder was one Ḥasan Khān. The record opens with a saying of the Prophet that 'he who builds mosques for God, God builds for him a similar structure in Paradise.'

The style of writing¹ is *Naskh* with a *Tughrā* flourish so that there is a tendency to make it almost conform to that variety of it which is termed as the 'Bow and Arrow' variety. In this style, the elongated shafts of the vertical strokes are made to look like arrow-heads at the tips, while the curvatures of the letters like *ن* or *ی* are drawn horizontally so as to form the strings of the bows. Characteristic of the *Tughrā*, some of the letters have been made into interesting animal forms. In the first occurrence of the word *ن* we have thus a very perfect form of a hooded serpent

¹ Compare plate XXXI, *Ep. Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-12.

The identity of the builder of the mosque is very difficult to establish. He is not mentioned in any of the contemporary histories. The reign of Sultān Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh is believed to have extended from 925¹ to 938 A. H.² and he has inscriptional records almost for every year of his reign from 926 A. H. to 938 A. H. The present tablet apparently belongs to the last year of the Sultān's reign and it is the second³ of the mural records so far discovered bearing the date 938H.

I have read the inscription as follows :—

TEXT (Plate XIa)

- (۱) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجداً لله بنى الله له بيتاً مثله في الجنة -
بنى هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد السلطان بن السلطان السلطان ناصر
(۲) الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر نصرت شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد [الله]
ملكه و بانيه حسن خان دام علوه في سنة ثمان و ثلثين و تسعمائة

TRANSLATION

The Prophet, blessings and peace of God be upon him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh builds for him a similar abode in Paradise'. This congregational mosque was built in the reign of the Sultān, son of a Sultān, Sultān Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l Muẓaffar Nuṣrat Shāh, the Sultān, son of Ḥusain Shāh, the Sultān, may (Allāh) perpetuate his kingdom and the builder thereof is Ḥasan Khān, may his high rank remain for ever, in the year eight and thirty and nine hundred (i.e. 938 A. H. = 1530-31 A. D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. II

The second inscription records the construction of a gateway to a mosque which apparently is the one whose erection is mentioned in the inscription No. 1. This record is also dated 938 A. H. and gives the name of the reigning Sultān as Nuṣrat Shāh. The small mound near the mosque, as mentioned before, probably represents the ruins of this gateway. Although the gateway and the mosque were both constructed in the same year, the donors to the two structures were different persons as is clear from the two records. The gateway, according to the inscription, was built by Majlis Jawād⁴ (lit., Benevolent Majlis)⁴.

The orthography of the present inscription although almost similar to that of inscription No. 1, has certain peculiarities which merit mention here. The three dots for ث are sometimes altogether absent and sometimes represented by one dot only, as in ثمان and ثلثين respectively. The dot for ن is omitted only in one case, as in سنة and is shifted to the extreme right in another viz., ثمان. The part بن of the word الدين at the end of the first line is left out by the scribe apparently through oversight. The shorter sign ʿ is usually put for the three dots above ش while the letter س has the sign ʿ above it almost invariably. The dot for the ج in مجلس is put above the letter.

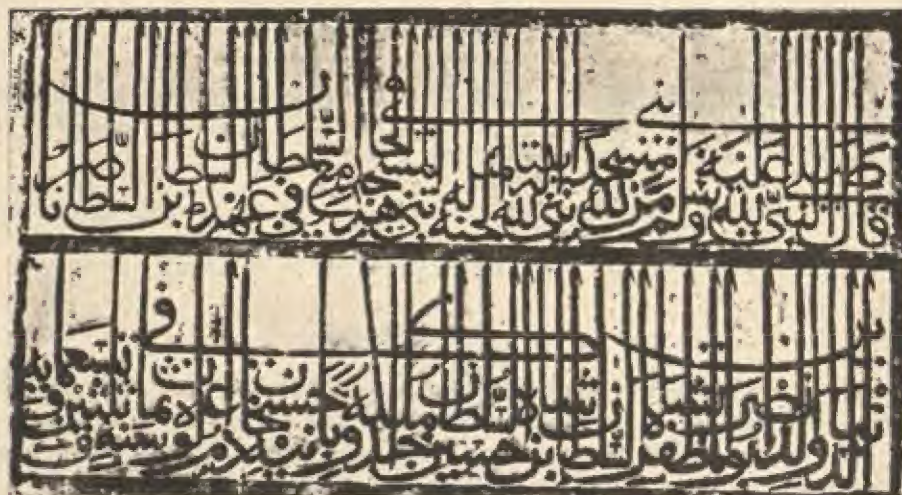
¹ The History of Bengal, Vol. II, Pub. by the University of Dacca, p. 152.

² The other inscription of the date 938 H. in the reign of this Sultān is the Māldah record of the building of a well by one Bona Malsi, J. A. S. B. XLIII, 1874, p. 308.

³ The reading of this word is doubtful.

⁴ We have such names as Majlis Sirāj, etc., in inscriptions of the time of Nuṣrat Shāh.

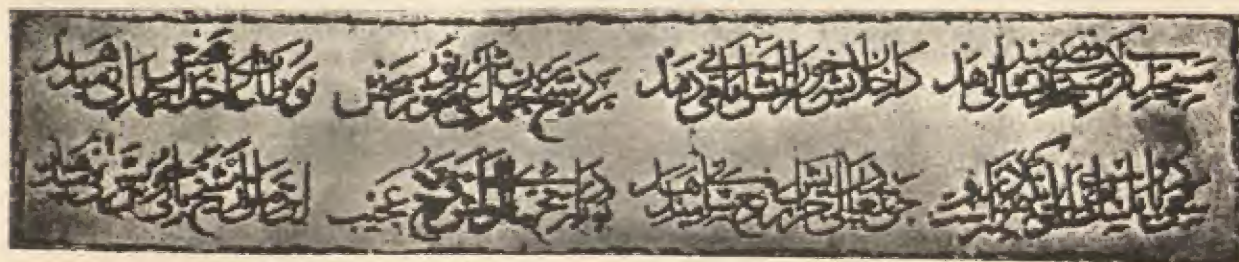
(a) On a loose stone found lying near a mosque at Santoashpur, Dist. Hooghly (now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta)

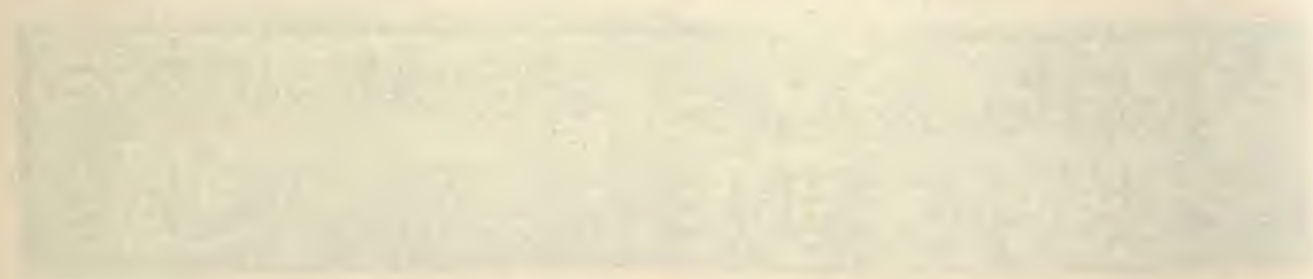
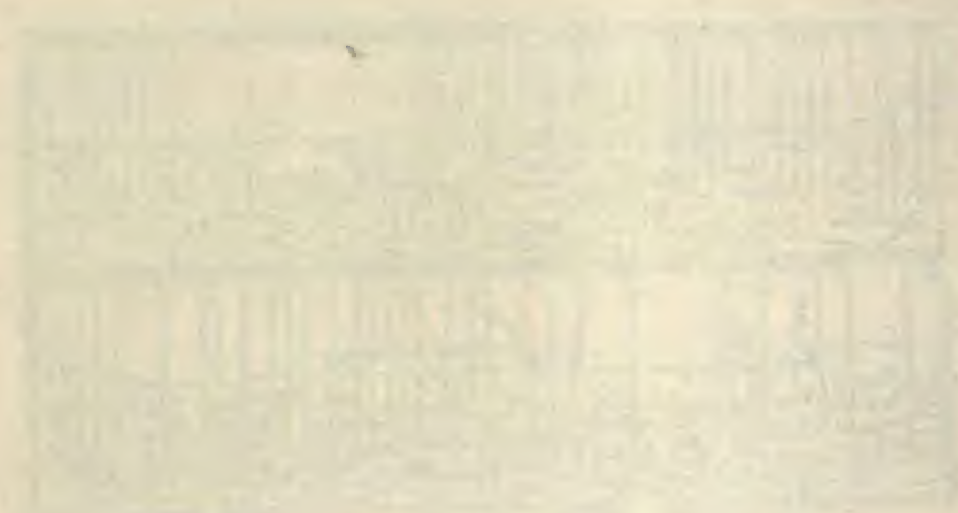


(b) Above the central arch at the entrance of the same mosque at Santishpur



(c) Over the central prayer-niche of the Shaikhonwāli Masjid, Agra





The style of writing here also is *Naskh* as in inscription No. 1, with a *Tughra* flourish.

I have read the inscription as follows :—

TEXT (Plate XIb)

- (۱) قال الله تعالى من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها بنى باب هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد السلطان السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا و الد
(۲) [بن] ابو المظفر نصرت شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و بانيه مجلس جواد (۳) في سنة ثمان و ثلثين و تسعمائة

TRANSLATION

Allāh, the most High, has said, 'He who does any good shall have tenfold like it'. The gateway of this congregational mosque was built in the reign of the Sultān, Sultān son of Sultān, Nāṣir-ru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l Muẓaffar Nuṣrat Shāh, the Sultān, son of Ḥusainshāh, the Sultān, son of Sayyid Ashraf al-Ḥusainī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, and the builder was Majlis Jawād (۳) (lit. Benevolent Majlis) in the year eight and thirty and nine hundred (i.e., 933 Hijra = 1530-31 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION IN THE SHAIKHONWALI MASJID AT AGRA

By SAYYID YUSUF KAMĀL BUKHĀRĪ

In Muḥalla Deorhī Begum or old Qāẓipāra at Agra, there stands a small mosque, called *Shaiḥhonwālī Masjid*, which has been recently repaired and renovated by the local Muslims. It is entered on the east by a doorway surmounted by five *guldastas*. The courtyard paved with sandstone slabs measures 21' × 11'6" and the prayer chamber, one bay deep, is covered with a flat roof carried on two square pillars and two pilasters. In the western wall there are three *mihrābs*, the spandrels of which are embellished with circular discs inscribed with the word الله in *Naskh* letters. Above the *mihrābs* to north and south of the principal *mihrāb* is inscribed the آية الكرسي (or Throne Verse¹) while over the central *mihrāb*, at a height of 4' 6" from the ground, is fixed a stone tablet, 4'10" × 10", bearing a Persian inscription in verse in two lines, executed in raised *Thulth-o-Naskh* characters. The inscription, as the muḥalla people say, was so thickly covered with lime and whitewash that it admitted of no decipherment and so, in the course of extensive repairs to the mosque, they undertook to get the foreign element chiselled clean out of the stone slab by a sculptor. This probably accounts for the damage done to the epigraph through the ignorance of the sculptor (*vide* footnote 1 page 28). The inscription reads as follows :—

TEXT (Plate XIc)

- (۱) مسجدے کز مسجد اقصیٰ نشانی می دهد
داخلان خویش را ز آتش امان می دهد

¹ Qur'ān, Chapter II, Verse 255.

- (۲) بر در شینج جهان شرعی منور نور بخش
نور طاعات خدا بخش جهانے می دهد
- (۳) سمی بابا دوست سلطان چونکه در تعمیر ؟ است
حق تعالی در جزایش رفع شانے می دهد
- (۴) بود تاریخ بنائے اولش فرخ عجیب
این زمان از شینج بانی خوش نشانے می دهد

TRANSLATION

(1) The mosque, which (in sanctity) is like the Temple of Jerusalem, offers immunity from (Hell) fire to those who enter it.

(2) At the door of the spiritual leader of the world (named) Shaikh Munawwar Shar'i, the giver of Divine light, effulgence of Divine worship illumines the world.

(3) Since the efforts of Sultān Bābā Dost are directed towards the construction (of the mosque), may God elevate his dignity for this.

(4) The chronogram of its original erection was '*Farrukh 'ajib*' (965 A.H. or 1557-58 A.D.), (while the words) '*Shaiikh-i-bānī*' happily yield the present date (of its reconstruction i.e., 973 A.H. or 1565-66 A.D.).

The 4th verse contains two chronograms—one yielding 965 A. H. (1557-58 A. D.) as the date of its original construction, and the other yielding 973 A. H. (1565-66 A. D.) presumably as the year of its subsequent reconstruction or extension.

The saint referred to in the 2nd verse is Shaikh Munawwar Shar'i Chishtī who lies buried in a domed tomb to the south of the mosque. The other uninscribed grave nearby is assigned to his son, Zainu'd-Dīn, who was also a reputed dervish of his age. Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and a contemporary of Allāmi Abu'l-Faṣl, calls the saint a *majzūb* who never demanded anything from anyone although a number of noblemen of Akbar's court had been his disciples¹. Muḥammad Ghauthī² and Sa'id Aḥmad³ mention him in some detail in their works. According to them, he was a son of Shaikh Nūru'llāh, son of Qāṣi Mu'izzu'd-Dīn, son of Qāṣi Allāhdād, son of Qāṣi Muḥammad Shar'i.

The unusual title of "Shar'i" has a history behind it. According to the said authors, his great-great grandfather, Qāṣi Muḥammad was a native of Tūrān from where he migrated to India and settled at Jhamrāwat in the *sarkār* of Mewat. Being a very learned and pious man, he was offered the responsible post of Qāṣi, or Judge, which he first refused but eventually accepted at the instance of the Holy Prophet who appeared to him in a dream and conferring on him the unique title of "Shar'i" (or just) wanted him to accept the Qāṣi's office. This title was borne by his descendants including the saint Shaikh Munawwar.

¹ The sculptor's ignorance seems to be responsible for the disfigurement of the words " تعمیر ؟ است " and the addition of a dot (نقطه) under " حق " in the 2nd line of the 3rd couplet.

² *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Persian text (Nawātkishor edition), p. 395.

³ *Ashār-i-Abrar* (Printed at the Mufid-i-'Ām Press, Agra, in 1326 A. H.), pp. 356-57.

⁴ *Bastān-i-Akhyār* (Printed at the Abu'l-'Ulāi Press, Agra, in 1331 A. H.), pp. 213-15.

In regard to the Saint's second epithet "*Chishtī*", the said authors narrate an interesting story. They say that *Shaiikh* Munawwar being a man of saintly qualities even from his early childhood, visited in a dream the tomb of *Khwāja* Mu'nu'd-Dīn *Chishtī*, the famous patron-saint of Ajmer, and respectfully shook hands with him as a disciple would. Shortly afterwards he became a disciple of *Khwāja Khānūn* of Gwalior who, of his own accord, reminded him of his once shaking hands with the *Khwāja* of Ajmer who had already accepted him as his disciple among the *Chishtī* sect of *Sūfis*. *Khwāja Khānūn*, however, brought him to Agra and seated him at the place where, according to the *Būstān-i-Akhyār*, he expired on the 26th Zīqā'da, 970 A. H. (17th July, 1563 A. D.) and according to the *Azkār-i-Abrār*, on the 27th Zīqā'da, 990 A. H. (23rd December, 1582 A. D.). It is difficult to reconcile the two dates quoted above, since the epigraph is of little definite help on this point, but in the event of the latter date being true, it is surmised that the reconstruction of the mosque in 1565 must also have been done before the saint's own eyes and probably at his own instance.

The *Būstān-i-Akhyār* and the *Azkār-i-Abrār* are at one with the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* in that the saint wielded sufficient influence on the nobles of Akbar's court and mention an interesting anecdote relating to Akbar's foster-brother Adham *Khān*'s visit to the saint who neither accepted his offering nor blessed him. On the disciples' enquiry as to why Adham *Khān* was so coldly treated, the saint replied, "His head is full of vain ambitions but I found him headless." According to the prophesy, only a few days after, Adham *Khān* was thrown down the palace by Akbar for his murdering Atgah *Khān*, another foster-brother of the Emperor.

In regard to the other figure, Sultān Bābā Dost in the epigraph, both history and tradition are silent, but the third verse tends to suggest that he was a man of position for whose elevation in rank, the composer of the chronogram offers fervent prayers and that he was interested in the construction probably as a disciple or admirer of the saint or possibly as a mere devout Muslim.

SOME NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM SOUTH INDIA

By SAYYID YUSUF KAMIL BUKHARI

Estampages of certain Persian and Arabic inscriptions collected by the Government Epigraphist were transferred to the office of the Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions sometime back and it has fallen to my lot to decipher them for publication in the Epigraphia for Arabic and Persian inscriptions.

Of them, two (Inscription nos. 1 and 2) from Kāyalpatnam are the epitaphs on the grave-stones of Arab traders who had settled in India, two (Inscription nos. 3 & 4) from Ichhapuram, District Ganjam, assign the construction of a mosque and an inn to one Mustafā *Khān* in 1102 A. H. (1690 A. D.) and the last one (Inscription no. 5) from Jammalamadugu, District Cuddapah, records the erection of a mosque in 1209 A. H. (1794-95 A. D.). They are dealt with in *series* below.

Kāyalpatnam is a small port in the Tinnevely District, Madras, situated in 8°34'N and 78°8'E., a few miles to the south of Tuticorin, not to be confounded with Kāyal. Its seaborne trade, which is chiefly in rice and cocoanuts with Ceylon, and timber and areca nuts with Travancore, is carried on by the Muslim tribe of Labbais.

Tinnevely District occupies the eastern half of the extreme southern end of the Indian Peninsula. Until the 18th century, the history of Tinnevely is almost identical with that of Madura.

District. The capital of the first rulers of Madura, the Pandya's, is reputed to have been at one time within Tinnevely District. Tirumala Nāik, the most famous of the Nāik dynasty of Madura, built himself a small palace at Srivilliputtur in the north-west corner of the district. In 1743, when the Nizāmu'l Mulk, the *Shūbedār* of Deccan, expelled the Marathas from most of southern India, Tinnevely passed under the nominal rule of the Nawabs of Arcot. All actual authority, however, lay in the hands of a number of independent military chiefs called poligars, originally feudal barons appointed by the Nāik deputies who, on the fall of that dynasty, had assumed wider powers.

The British, however, were at that time too busy with the wars with Haidar Āli to be able to pacify the country thoroughly and the poligars continued to be troublesome. In 1799, Serinapatam fell and the East India Company's troops were at last free to move. The Poligar wars ensued and a crushing defeat was inflicted on them by the British forces. In 1801, Company assumed the government of the whole of the Carnatic under a treaty with the Nawab, making him a pecuniary allowance. Tinnevely thus came absolutely into British hands. Now it forms part of the Republic of India.

As the reputed seat of the earliest Dravidian civilization, the district possesses much antiquarian interest. The most noteworthy archaeological remains are the sepulchral urns found buried in the sides of the gravel hills which abound in different parts of the district. Among the many temples in the district, those at Tiruchendur, Alvār and Tinnevely deserve special mention. Ancient Roman coins are not uncommon in Tinnevely, and those of the old Pandyan Kings are numerous.

INSCRIPTION NO. I

At Kāyalpatnam, Tiruchendur Taluqa, Tinnevely District, there is an inscribed gravestone¹ near the pathway at Sirupalli. The epigraph is in Arabic prose and verse, carved in eleven lines in *Nasḥī* letters, and assigns the grave to one *Shaiḫh Āli*, son of Jamālu'd-Dīn, son of Sayyid Aḥmad, about whom nothing is traceable in history. He seems to have been an Arab trader who had settled in India. History tells us that in the 9th and 10th centuries A. H. the Arabs traded with India and settled both on the Malabar and Coromandal coasts and it is reasonably presumed that the above-mentioned *Shaiḫh Āli* was one of these Arab traders. He died in the morning on Monday, the 28th Jamādi II, 901 A. H. (14th March, 1496 A. D.). Some of the words in the epigraph are badly damaged. I read the text as follows :—

TEXT (Plate XIIIa)

- (١) هذا ضريح الرئيس الاجل رفيع القدر و المحل
- (٢) الشيخ على بن الوائى المحترم جمال الدين بن سيد (٢) المكرم
- (٣) سلالة الصدر الامجد سيدى احمد مجل الامير العادل
- (٤) السيد الكبير البازل جمال الدين نور لاهل الدين
- (٥) ولد الوالى الامير (٢) سيدى احمد فرع الملا صلى المعبرى
- (٦) التى سعد الدين المعبرى الفتن تقى شعر

¹ The tablet measures 2'9" by 2'2".

- (٤) رحموا كما رحموا لاهل بلادهم
 (٨) وسقوا لاجمعهم بكأس الكوثر
 (٩) قد توفى صاحب هذا الضريح وقت الضحى يوم
 (١٠) الاثنين الثامن و العشرين من شهر جمادى الاخر سنة
 (١١) احدى و تسعماية النبويه (٩)

TRANSLATION

- (1) This is the grave of the great *Ra'is*, dignified in rank and position,
 (2) Shaikh, *Ālī*, son of the venerable master *Jamālu'd-Dīn*, son of the benign *Sayyid*,
 (3) a descendent of the most glorious *Ṣadr Sayyidī Aḥmad*, a devoted servant of the just *Amīr*,
 (4) the great and generous master (named) *Jamālu'd-Dīn*, the (guiding) light to the followers of the Faith,
 (5 & 6) son of the master *Sayyidī Aḥmad* a descendant of the *Malāṣālī al-ma'barī*, righteous *Ba'du'd-Dīn Ma'barī* of pious habits. Verse :
 (7) May mercy be shown (to them) as they showed mercy to their countrymen,
 (8) and may the thirst of all of them be quenched with the cup of (water from the) *Kauthar*!
 (9-11) The occupant of this tomb died in the morning on Monday, the 28th of the month of *Jamādi II*, year 901 of (the exodus of) the Prophet (14th March, 1496 A. D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. II

On another tombstone to north of Periyapalli at *Kāyalpatnam*, *Tiruchendur Taluqa*, *Tinnevely District*, is an epigraph dated Sunday, the 17th of *Rabi' II*, 989 A. H. (21st of May, 1581 A.D.). The occupant of the grave is one *Manlānā Abdu'l Ghaffār*, son of *Sayyid Aḥmad*, son of *Jamālu'd-Dīn*, son of *Yūsuf*, son of *Ḥasanu'd-Dīn*, who also seems to be an Arab trader and who settled and died in India. Nothing is found in historical records in this office about him. The inscription slab measures 2'8" by 2'3" and bears an incised Arabic epigraph in prose in nine lines executed in *Naskhī* letters and I have deciphered it as follows :—

TEXT (Plate XIIb)

- (١) هذا ضريح الرئيس الاجل الرفيع القدر
 (٢) و المحل معين الضعفاء و المساكين ملجاء
 (٣) الغرياء و الصالحين مولانا عبد الغفار ابن
 (٤) السيد احمد بن الشه^١ (sic.) عبد الله بن السيد احمد بن
 (٥) جمال الدين بن يوسف بن حسن الدين

^١ *Kauthar* and *Tasnim* are believed to be two streams of invigorating fresh water in Paradise.

^٢ This word seems to be broken ; it is probably " الشيخ ".

PLATE XIII

(a) From a mosque at Lalapet, Ichchapuram



SCALE 1/4

(b) Built into a mosque at Lalapet, Ichchapuram



SCALE 1/4

(c) On the Jāmi' Masjid, Jammalamadugu



SCALE 1/23

INSCRIPTION NO. III

This inscription belongs to the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb. The stone slab, measuring 2'3" × 10", was originally fixed to a mosque at Lalapet, District Ganjam. It is in Persian verse in three lines, carved in *Naskh* style in relief. The epigraph records the construction of a mosque by Muṣṭafā Khān at Ichhāpūr. The chronogram yields the date 1102 A. H. corresponding to 1690 A. D. I read the inscription as follows :—

TEXT (Plate XIIIa)

- (۱) سپهر جود و همت مصطفیٰ خان که افزود از کف او رتبه فیض
(۲) در ایچها پور نیکو مسجدی ساخت چنان مسجد که باشد قبله فیض
(۳) ملک تاریخ این مسجد طلب کرد ملک گفتا چه مسجد کعبه فیض

TRANSLATION

- (1) Muṣṭafā Khān, the firmament of generosity and courage, whose hand added a dignity to bounty,
(2) built an elegant mosque like the benign Qibla at Ichhāpūr.
(3) Heaven asked for a chronogram of this mosque, (and) the angel said : چه مسجد کعبه فیض (what a mosque, the benevolent Ka'ba).

INSCRIPTION NO. IV

The fourth inscription is also in Persian verse consisting of three couplets, executed in *Naskh* characters in relief. It is in three lines on a stone slab measuring 2'3" × 10" built into a mosque at Lalapet, District Ganjam. The epigraph assigns the construction of a *sarāi* (inn) to Muṣṭafā Khān at Ichhāpūr. The chronogram 'آسایش خلق' (or Public comfort) gives the date 1102 A. H. (1690 A. D.). My reading of the inscription is as follows :—

TEXT (Plate XIIIb)

- (۱) فرزنده رسول مصطفیٰ خان که بود فخر امرا پشت و پنداره قرا
(۲) بنیاد سرا نهاد در ایچها پور از بهر خدا نه از بی روی ریا
(۳) مطلب سرا چه بود آسایش خلق آسایش خلق گشت تاریخ سرا

TRANSLATION

- (1) Muṣṭafā Khān, a descendant of the Prophet, pride of the rich, and asylum of the poor,
(2) founded a *sarāi* (inn), not for ostentation but merely for the sake of God at Ichhāpūr.
(3) (Since) the object of the (construction of the) *sarāi* (inn) was public comfort¹, the chronogram of the *sarāi* was found in 'آسایش خلق' (comfort of the public).

¹ It may also be translated as under : 'What was (his) object in constructing the *sarāi* (inn) ? (It was) public comfort.

INSCRIPTION NO. V

The last inscription, dealt with in chronological order in this article, was found in the District of Cuddapah or Kurpa. Politically, Cuddapah was not an important town in ancient days. It formed part of the Chola kingdom of Tanjore from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries A.D., and was ceded to the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar in the 14th century on whose disruption, the Qutb Shāhī rulers of Golconda overran it. Shivaji devastated the town in 1678 A. D. and eventually Emperor Aurangzeb seized it. In the 18th century, it was held first by the Marathas and afterwards by Haidar 'Ali, on whose death, it passed to the Nizām of Hyderabad who ceded it in 1800 to the British to meet the cost of a subsidiary British force in his dominion. It is now a religious centre of the Hindus and attracts pilgrims in large numbers.

The epigraph is on a stone slab measuring 1'5" × 1'2" originally fixed to the Jāmi' Masjid at Jammalamadugu. It is in Persian verse written in crude *Nasta'liq* in embossed letters in two lines and records the erection of a mosque in 1209 A. H. (1794-95 A. D.), but the name of its builder is not mentioned in the inscription. There seems an orthographical mistake in the second line, as it reads 'الف و دو صد و وهیزده نیم' but one 'و' between صد and وهیزده is redundant and carries no meaning.

TEXT (Plate XIII c)

(۱) شد بنا مسجد بنام رحیم

(۲) الف و دو صد و وهیزده نیم

TRANSLATION

(1) The mosque was built in the name of the Merciful

(2) (in) the year one thousand and two hundred and nine (1209 A. H. = 1794-95 A. D.).

TWO PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS CARVED ON THE GATE OF BIBI KA MAQBARA, AURANGABAD-DN.

By M. IDRISULLAH, AURANGABAD

The Maqbara, as it is popularly called, is situated in the suburb of Begumpura near Aurangabad, and was built by Prince A'zam Shāh in memory of his beloved mother Begum Rābi'a Daurāni, the wife of the Mughul Emperor Aurangzeb. The mausoleum is a replica of the world-renowned Tāj Maḥal of Agra, and although in regard to architectural beauty, it suffers by comparison with its earlier prototype, yet it is the finest Mughul building in South India.

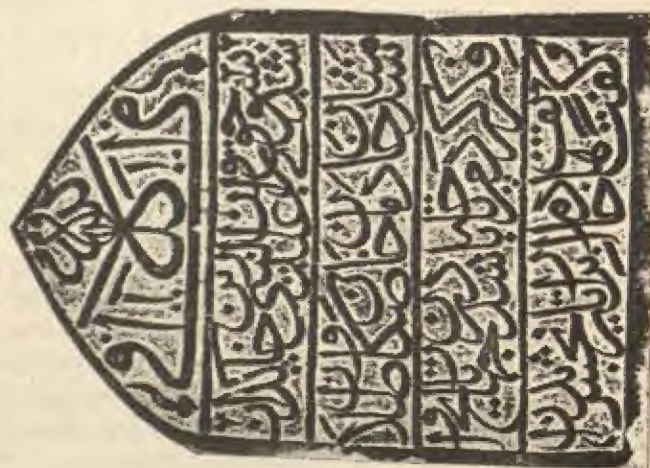
The Maqbara stands in the midst of a large garden, interspersed with paved walks and channels of running water. The mausoleum itself is built on a high platform with four minarets at its corners, which add dignity to the building. The minarets, however, are not so graceful in outline as those of the Tāj, nor the central dome is so imposing as that of the latter. The lower part of the building is faced with marble and decorated with carvings executed in typical Mughul style. The decorative work is continued in the upper parts of the walls, but there it is done in stucco. The interior of the building is arranged into a gallery which overlooks the sarcophagus, built on the ground level, and enclosed by a marble screen of exquisite design.

(a) On the gate of the Bibi Kā Maqbara, Aurangabad Dn.



Scale 1

(b) On a stone lying loose in the Lal Masjid, Kurnool



Scale 18

(c) Over the outface of the main gate to the compound of Abdu'l Wahhāb's Tomb, Kurnool



Scale 33

On the main gate of the mausoleum, facing the south, two Persian inscriptions are carved in fine *Nasta'liq* characters which mention the name of one Abū'l Qāsim, under whose superintendence the Maqbara was built, and also the names of the architect 'Aṭāu'llāh, who designed the building, and the engineer Haspat Rāi, who carried out the work. The date 1071 A. H. (1660-61 A.D.) given in one of the inscriptions, probably records the year of the completion of the building. It may be interesting to note here how the Hindu master-masons were associated with Muslim architects in their big architectural works, and it was evidently the result of this happy co-operation that the Indo-Muslim architecture of India evolved such pleasing features in regard to the beauty of outline and the grace of decorative detail.

The two inscriptions have been read by me as follows :—

(Plate XIVa)

INSCRIPTION NO. I

TEXT

این دروازه به اهتمام رفعت پناه آقا ابو القاسم بیگ داروغه طیار شده .

TRANSLATION

This gate was built under the supervision of the exalted Āqā Abū'l Qāsim Beg, the Superintendent.

INSCRIPTION NO. II

TEXT

در این روضه منوره در معماری عطا [ا] الله بعمل هست رای طیار شد ۱۰۷۱ هـ

TRANSLATION

The gateway of this illuminated mausoleum was built by 'Aṭāu'llāh, the architect, and Haspat Rāi, the engineer. 1071 A.H (1660-61 A.D.).

The guard-rooms, on either side of the passage of this gateway, have beautiful mosaic-tiles, representing rose-flowers. The tiles are fixed into the dados of guard-rooms. The mosaic-tiles of this pattern have not been noticed in any other part of India up to now, and are therefore a special feature of the architectural decoration of the Maqbara.

SOME UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS FROM KURNOOL

By Z. A. DESAI

Kurnool is situated at the confluence of the rivers Tungabhadra and Hindri, amidst beautiful surroundings. The name Kurnool is said to have been a corrupt form of Kandenvolu (the town of grease) or Kannādu (the hilly tract)¹. The town is called Qamarnagar in Persian chronicles². How it came to be so called is difficult to say, since the chronicles are silent on this point. For the statement that Ghāzīu'd-Dīn Khān Firūz Jang reduced Kurnool and named it as Qamarnagar (probably after his son Mīr Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān who later on became Niẓāmu'l Mulk Āṣafjāh I), we have no authority except that of the Kurnool Manual.

¹ For details see *Kurnool Manual*, I and *Journal of Indian History*, December, 1952, p. 316.

² *Ma'āthir-i-'Alamgiri* (Bib. Ind.), 404, 502, 517, etc.; *Ma'āthiru'l Umara* (Bib. Ind.), I, 255; II, 67; III, 872 etc.

The *Basāṭin*'s *Salāṭin*, the history of Bijapur kings, does not mention the town by this name. On the contrary, it generally names the city as Muḥammadnūr or Muḥammadnagar¹. A trilingual inscription from Siruguppa in Bellary District mentions a town, Muḥammadnūr, along with Adhoni and Raichur². There is also one Nagar Kurnul in the present Hyderabad State.

The history of Kurnool, whose strategic importance was not inconsiderable in the past, is, like that of its name, shrouded in confusion. The compiler of the *Kurnool Manual* has tried to give from various sources, a brief account of Kurnool. Looking to the importance Kurnool enjoys to-day, it would not be out of place to make a passing reference to its history under the Muslim rule, especially to its first occupation by the Bijapur kings. Before the battle of Raksasatangadi (generally spoken of as that of Talikota), Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān of Bijapur had tried in vain to acquire this part of Vijayanagar empire³. After this battle also, this territory does not seem to have been wrested from the Vijayanagar kings. Likewise, it is not certain whether Kurnool was annexed to Bijapur kingdom, when 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh conquered in 1576 A.D. the territory to the north of Penukonda⁴.

Cumbum, now in Kurnool District, was one of the forts that were reduced by 'Imādu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shīrāzī, a general of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh in 1579 A.D.⁵. Two or three years later, Amīr Zayn, another general of the Quṭb Shāh took possession of the towns of Kakny, Nakany and Kurnool, where he left garrisons⁶. Again, Nandyal and Kurnool are stated as having been taken from the generals of the Vijayanagar king, while Nunducotcota and certain other parts were induced to become tributaries of the Golconda king⁷. Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh is also reported to have carried on successful wars in this territory, capturing Kurnool, Nandyal etc⁸. All this tends to show that the Kurnool territories were not under one rule at one time, but changed hands as often as was possible, being a bone of contention between the armies of Golconda, Vijayanagar and the petty lordlings who were ruling over different parts on behalf of the either.

The question therefore arises as to when Kurnool was brought under Muslim rule. It is generally believed that 'Abdu'l Wahhāb attacked and occupied Kurnool on behalf of the Bijapur king, towards the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century. He is said to have died in 1618, after a rule of sixteen years. He was succeeded by his brother Muḥammad and the country continued to be governed by the deputies from Bijapur till the downfall of that kingdom⁹. According to another account, the Muslim attack of Kurnool, led by 'Abdu'l Wahhāb and (his brother) 'Abdu'l Muḥammad took place in 1541 *Siddhanti* corresponding to 1623 A.D.¹⁰ while the *Kandanolārājula-Vaṁṣāvali* gives the year 1504 *Vikrama*, corresponding to 1581 A.D. for the same¹¹.

The epigraphical records found in Kurnool District mention Venkatapati I as reigning in 1601, 1603 and 1609, Śrī Rama II in 1624 and Śrī Ranga III in 1643¹². The *Basāṭin*'s *Salāṭin* does not mention any conquest of Kurnool by 'Abdu'l Wahhāb or his brother at this period; in fact,

¹ *Basāṭin*, 371, 386, 389, 524, etc.

² 675 of 1922.

³ *Studies in the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, by Prof. N. Venkataramanayya, 37.

⁴ *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, by F. Heras, 270.

⁵ Brigg's *Firigha*, III, 435-38; F. Heras, *opp. cit.*, 273.

⁶ Brigg's *Firigha*, III, 441.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 453, also 454-55.

⁸ R. Sowell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 218.

⁹ *Kurnool Manual*, 29.

¹⁰ A Ms. in the Mackenzie collection, Govt. Oriental Lib. Madras, quoted in the *Journal of Indian History*, Dec. 1952, 311.

¹¹ A summary of its contents was kindly supplied to me by Shri Soma Shekhar Sharma, compiler of the *Telugu Encyclopaedia*, for which my earnest thanks are due to him.

¹² *The Hist. Ins. of Southern India*, by Sowell and Aiyangar, 268, 269, 274, 278.

it does not directly mention these two brothers at all. It refers to the capture of Kurnool fort by 'Adil Shāhī troops in 1621 A.D.¹ The first reference to 'Abdu'l Wāhhāb in the *Basātīn* is in connection with Sidi Jauhar, who had, at least by 1660, established himself in the government of Kurnool, after removing Malik Raihān, a son and successor of his master 'Abdu'l Wāhhāb. Three years later, 'Alī 'Adil Shāh II marched in person to chastise Jauhar then entitled *Shālābat Khān*, who had repeatedly offended that monarch by his frequent acts of disloyalty. Jauhar suffered a crushing defeat near the fort of Bhannu and fled to Raichur. Being hotly chased, he took to Kurnool. His son-in-law Mas'ūd, who later on held Adhoni in his fief, attacked the 'Adil Shāhī troops that were marching towards Kurnool but barely escaped death. On receiving the news, Jauhar died of physical and mental wounds. He was succeeded by his son 'Abdu'l 'Aziz.² The *Basātīn* does not mention 'Abdu'l Wāhhāb in any other connection which is really surprising. The inscriptions (vide No. III *infra*) on the tomb known popularly as 'Abdu'l Wāhhāb's tomb, do not help us much in this respect. Two of these give 1048 A.H. (1638-39 A.D.) and 1052 A.H. (1642-43 A.D.) as the dates of death of two persons whose names have not been mentioned. One giving 1048 as the date of the death of 'the supporter of religion, the essence of ministers', may refer to 'Abdu'l Wāhhāb. However, an inscription from Raichur, now stored in the Hyderabad State Museum, mentions him as having constructed a bastion there. The date given in the inscription which mentions 'Abdu'l Wāhhāb as having died when it was inscribed, is in all probability, the date of the completion of the bastion and not the date of the inscription itself.³ In the light of the above information, it is difficult to say with certainty as to when 'Abdu'l Wāhhāb came to occupy Kurnool. The statement of the Ms. in the Mackenzie collection, however, appears nearer to truth.

After Jauhar's death, Kurnool was ruled over as a part of Bijapur territories by 'Abdu'l 'Aziz until at least 1075 A.H. (1664-65 A.D.), when he was present in the 'Adil Shāhī army that was fighting Raja Jaysingh.⁴ 'Abdu'l 'Aziz is probably Hajee Saheb of the *Kandanolarājulavamsāvali*. An inscription from Uyyalwada in Kurnool District records that in 1084 A.H. (1673 A.D.) Sayyid Amir Sadullah appointed one Papareddi for his father's situation.⁵ By 1678, Sarfarāz Khān had replaced some one in the government of Kurnool.⁶ The last mentioned and his son appear to have governed Kurnool until the annexation of Bijapur Kingdom to the Mughul empire.⁷

The Persian chronicles do not give any date of Aurangzib's capture of Kurnool which was a separate province of Bijapur kingdom like Adhoni. However, Aurangzib's sovereignty in this part in 1697 is acknowledged in two Telugu inscriptions discovered at Bollavaram in Nandikotkur taluk.⁸ In 1699, we find Yūsuf Khān governing Kurnool on behalf of Aurangzib. Except for a short period when he was transferred to Adhoni in 1706 A.D. (Rabī' I 1118 A.H.), Yūsuf Khān held Kurnool until he was appointed *Subedar* of Hyderabad.⁹ Amīn Khān Deccani succeeded him as the *faujdar* of Kurnool. When Farrukh Siyar ascended the throne, Ibrāhīm Khān Pannāi was made the *faujdar*.¹⁰ Ibrāhīm Khān and his successors became semi-independent assuming the

¹ *Basātīn*, 273.

² *Ibid.*, 371, 373, 384-87, 389-90, 524 etc.

³ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1939-40, Plate No. IX.

⁴ *Basātīn*, 408.

⁵ V. Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, II, Kur., 194. There it is mentioned that Amir Sadullah was *Karnatik Nawab Saadatullah Khān*. However, this statement requires close scrutiny.

⁶ *Basātīn*, 467, 529.

⁷ The *Kandanolarājulavamsāvali* makes Jahangir Bolli (?) succeed Sarfarāz Khān in 1091 Fashī.

⁸ Nos. 426, 427 of 1923.

⁹ *Ma'āthir-i-Alamgiri*, 404, 502, 517; *Ma'āthir-i-Umarā*, I, 255, 256; *Muntakhab-i-Lubāb*, II, 534, 571 etc.

¹⁰ *Ma'āthir-i-Umarā*, II, 67 *et seq.*, III, 861.

title of Nawāb.¹ The last of them, Ghulām Rasūl Khān was accused in 1838 of having been carrying on treasonable activities against the British. He was deposed in the following year and sent to Trichinopoly where he died after sometime. The charge against him was never proved.

The inscriptions included in this study cover a period of two centuries; the earliest is of 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.) and the latest of 1252 A.H. (1836-37 A.D.). Of these, eight belong to the period of Bijapur sovereignty while one to the Mughul period. The remaining belong to the period of the Nawabs' rule. Of these last, eight are from the buildings constructed during the period of the last Nawāb. He seems to have been a man of some attainments. He is credited with a mind inclined towards literary pursuits and love for literary men and scholars. Popular belief ascribes the composition of the chronogram contained in the inscription on the *Āthār Mosque* to him (see page 59 *infra*). *Dhakhīra-i-Rasūl Khānī*, a work on history named after him was compiled at his instance and dedicated to him by one Faiḍu'llāh Qādiri of Hyderabad.²

Some of these inscriptions are interesting from the calligraphical point of view. They represent fairly good specimens of *Naskh* and *Thulth* styles of writing while those inscribed in *Nasta'liq* are, with few exceptions, remarkable for their elegant execution. The first two inscriptions serve a good example of the *Naskh* style that was prevalent in Deccan during the 'Ādilshāhī and Quṭbshāhī rules.³ A noteworthy feature of the later inscriptions is the use of *Thulth*, at a period when *Nasta'liq* was much in vogue.⁴

I—INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE PĪR ŠĀHEB KĀ GUMBAD

The earliest inscriptions of Kurnool belong to the tomb of one Pīr Šāheb whose full name is not known. The tomb is situated on the right bank of the Hindri and contains two inscribed slabs of darkish green granite. The first of these (3'7" × 1'6"), fixed into the inner side of the north wall bears two epigraphs in Persian verse, which probably refer to two different persons. The one on the right side records the death of the Pīr Šāheb after whom the tomb is so called, which took place in 1046 A.H. (1636-37 A.D.), while the other carved on the left refers to the death of some one who seems to have died young in the following year. The slab is cut into eight rectangular panels, each containing a hemistich. The epigraphs are inscribed in relief in *Naskh* of a fairly high type, which bears a striking resemblance to the style of writing employed in some inscriptions of the 'Ādilshāhī and Quṭbshāhī periods. They read as follows:—

TEXT (Plate XVa)

- (۱) پیر صاحب کرده رحلت در جهان شد شور و غم
 (۲) از فراقش ناله‌ها کردند عالم دم بدم
 (۳) خواستم من تا بگویم بهر او تاریخ را
 (۴) هاتنی از سوز جان گفتا بگوئی آه غم
- ۱۰۴۶

TRANSLATION

- (1) Pīr Šāhib departed from this world : clamour and grief overwhelmed the whole world.

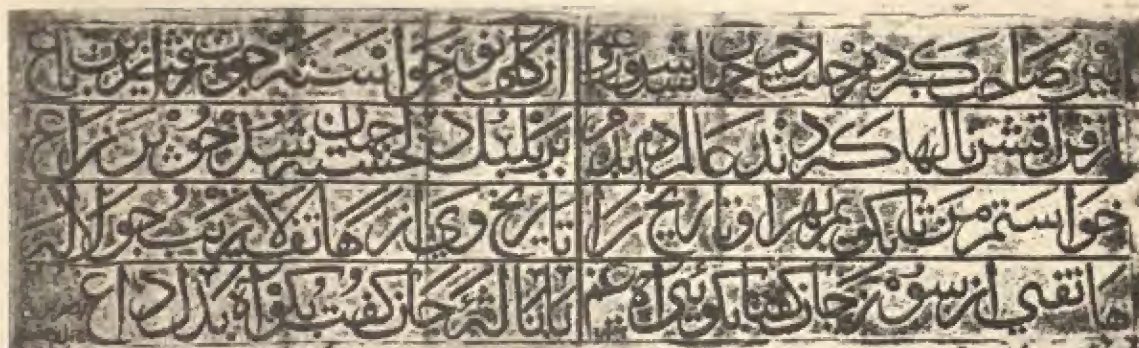
¹ For a detailed account of these, see *Kurnool Manual*, 29 *et seq.*; *Ma'āthīra'l Umarā*, II, 63 *et seq.*; *Rāḥat Afāḍ* (Hyd.) etc.

² State Lib. Hyderabad, *Fann-i-tārīkh*, No. 606.

³ Plates XV a and b.

⁴ Plate XXIII.

(a) On the north wall, inner side, of the Pīr Šāheh Kā Gumbad, Kurnool



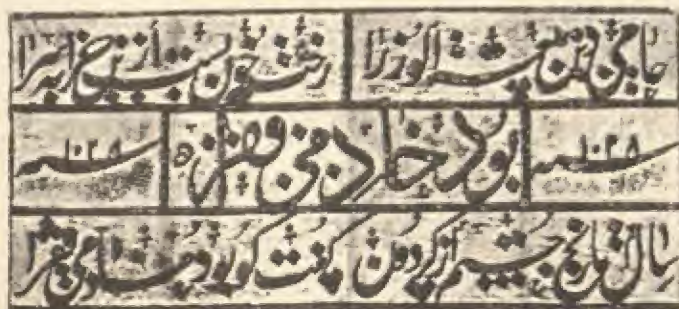
SCALE · 15

(b) Over the doorway of the above, Kurnool



SCALE · 13

(c) Over the door in the east wall of the smaller tomb in 'Abdu'l Wahhāb's Tomb, Kurnool



SCALE · 17

- (2) On account of his departure, (people of) the world were constantly weeping and wailing.
 (3) I wanted to compose a chronogram for him, (when)
 (4) a *hātif* through soul-consuming grief said : Say, *Alā ! grief !* 1046 (A.H.=1636-37 A.D.).

On the left :

- (۱) آن کلی نو خواسته (sic.) چون رفت ازین باغ
 (۲) بر بلبل دلخسته جهان شد چو پر زاغ
 (۳) تاریخ وی از هائف لا ریب جو لاله
 (۴) با ناله جان گفت بگو آم بدل داغ
 (۵) یک هزار و چهل و هفت

TRANSLATION

- (1) When that newly-grown rose departed from this garden (of the world),
 (2) the world became (as dark) as the wing of the crow in the eyes of the heart-rent nightingale.
 (3) O Lāleh¹ ! Seek the date of his (death) from the doubtless *Hātif*.
 (4) (He) said, with woes of heart, 'Say : *Alas ! (he has left us) a brand on the heart*'.
 (5) (Year) one thousand and forty-seven.

The other slab bearing the following inscription measures 4'6" × 1'3" and is fixed over the doorway in the south wall of the tomb. The slab has two vertical panels one on each end, containing artistic designs of arches, the words 'O Opener of gates' and 'O Buddūh' in *Tughrā* and the date in chronogram and figures. The middle portion containing the epigraph is cut into six horizontal panels. The record mentions the construction of the tomb in 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.). The style of writing is the same as in above, in a bolder hand in this case.

TEXT (Plate XVb)

(a) Right Panel

- (۱) یا مفتاح الابواب
 Design (۲)
 (۳) جنت الثانی ۱۰۴۷

(b) Left Panel :

- (۱) یا بدوح
 Design (۲)
 (۳) جنت الثانی ۱۰۴۷

¹ لاله meaning tulip is probably the nom-de-plume of the composer.

(c) *Middle portion :*

- (۱) چونکه بنیاد این بنا کردند استمداد از خدا همین کردند
(۲) بکن از لطف خود تمام این را دری بکشا بری تو رحمت را
(۳) چون مرتب شد این بلطف صمد تاریخش روضه حبیب احد

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) O Opener of gates !

(3) *The Second Paradise* : 1047 (A. H.=1637-38 A.D.).

(b) (1) O Buddūh !

(3) Same as in (a).

(c) (1) When the foundation of this edifice was laid, they sought help from God thus (saying) :

(2) (O God), bring this to completion through Your grace and open a door of Your mercy on it.

(3) When this (edifice) was ready through the grace of the Eternal Lord, its date (was found in the words) : *The tomb of the friend of the One.*

The chronogram contained in the second hemistich of the last line, yields 1046 which falls short of the date given in figures by one year, while *جنت الائی* yields the numerical value 1045 only.

II—INSCRIPTION ON A LOOSE STONE NOW LYING IN THE HUIRA OF THE LĀL MASJID

The next inscription is engraved in relief, on an arch-shaped slab of black granite (measuring 11" from apex to bottom and 7½" wide), now kept in the *hujra* of the Lāl Masjid. The slab is reported to have been brought from the compound of 'Abdu'l Wāhhāb's tomb, obviously to save it from possible destruction or disappearance. It is an epitaph recording the death in 1049 A.H. (1639-40 A.D.) of one 'Abdu'n Nabī. The inscription is remarkable for its penmanship, which has found expression in a beautiful example of calligraphic art. The stone is divided into four panels cut horizontally, each containing a hemistich in Persian, and one more panel at the top which contains the words *الله کانی* in *Tughrā*.

My reading of it is as follows :

TEXT (Plate XIVb)

- (۱) الله کانی
(۲) شد بسوی حق روان عبد التبی زین خاکداز
(۳) شد میان خادمان خاصگان واصلان
(۴) فکر کردم تا چه باشد در جهان تاریخ او
(۵) گفت هاتق خادم ابرار تاریخش بدان

TRANSLATION

- (1) God sufficeth.
- (2) 'Abdu'n Nabī moved away from this dust-house towards the Truth,
- (3) (and) joined the servants of those select who have attained Union.
- (4) I pondered over as to what would be the date of his (departure) in the world, (when)
- (5) *Hātif* said : Know his date (from the words 'he was) a servant of the holy'.

The chronogram contained in the words ابرار خادم yields 1049 A.H. (1639-40 A.D.). I have not been able to gather any information regarding 'Abdu'n Nabī, who might have been a man of consequence, celebrated for his love and respect of saints.

III—INSCRIPTIONS ON THE TOMB OF 'ABDU'L WAHHĀB

The next four inscriptions are to be found on a building known popularly as the tomb of 'Abdu'l Wāhhāb, which is situated on the left bank of the river Hindri, adjoining the Osmania College. The building is of considerable architectural interest, having served as a pattern for some of the buildings constructed at a later period, and is being maintained by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India.

Strictly speaking, there are three tombs in the compound, of which one seems to have remained unfinished. The other two, one of a bigger size than the other, are adjacent to each other, joined into one by a covered passage forming a large hall. This passage or large hall has entrances leading to both the tombs and a main entrance, now closed, leading outside. Both these tombs are more or less built in the same pattern, the only difference being as already related, that of size. The domes are placed on raised bases on the roof, which has small minarets at each corner. The walls of the building are surrounded on three sides by a verandah, with arches, supporting the roof. To the east of these tombs lies the unfinished tomb, with closed walls, having an entrance in the west wall and a flat roof. This tomb, the completion of whose construction seems to have been interrupted by some reason unknown to us, is attributed by local tradition to a teacher or spiritual guide of Nawāb 'Abdu'l Wāhhāb. It bears no inscription.

As regards the two tombs, popular tradition speaks of the smaller one as the resting place of 'Abdu'l Wāhhāb himself, while his brother called Muḥammad¹ is believed to have occupied the larger one. We have unfortunately no evidence at our disposal to ascertain the validity of this popular belief.

Over the outer face of the gateway (now closed) leading into the passage hall, there is an inscription recording the date of the construction of the gate in 1052 A.H. (1642-43 A.D.). It comprises one line in Persian prose executed in relief in elegant *Nasta'liq* on a black basalt (1'10" by 9").

TEXT (Plate XIVc)

تاریخ بنای دروازه دوشه غمزد

سنه ۱۰۵۲

TRANSLATION

The date of the construction of the gate of the tomb : *grief-dispelling*. Year 1052 (A.H.-1642-43 A.D.).

¹ The correct name of his brother is 'Abdu'l Muḥammad as is recorded in some inscriptions at Raichur and Siruguppa.

The numerical value of the word غمزدا comes to 1052 A.H., the year in which the gate was constructed.

Another slab (2'2½" by 1'2") fixed over the outer face of the door in the east wall of the smaller tomb contains a Persian inscription of two lines in verse, executed partly in *Nasta'liq* and partly in *Thuluth* of very high order. It records the demise of some one whose name is not given but who is spoken of as 'the servant of the devout'. It is not unlikely that it may refer to 'Abdu'l Wahhāb himself, as has been suggested in the introductory lines. The text of the chronogram, which occurs in the second line is also inscribed in a small panel in between the two wider panels. It works out to 1048 A.H. (1638-39 A.D.), which is corroborated by the figure also.

TEXT (Plate XVc)

- (۱) حامی دین نتیجه الوزرا دخت چون بست ازین خرابه سرا
(۲) سال تاریخ جستم از گردون گفت کو بود خادمی فقرا

In the middle panel :

سنة ۱۰۳۸ بود خادمی فقرا سنة ۱۰۳۸

TRANSLATION

(1) When the defender of Faith (and) the essence of ministers packed off his baggage from this desolate place,

(2) I inquired of the sky about the chronogram ; it said : *He was a servant of the devout.*

In the middle panel :

Year 1048. He was a servant of the devout. Year 1048.

Over the *Jālī* in the east wall of the larger tomb, in the inner face, is another inscription carved in relief on a stone measuring 2' by 1'6". It probably refers to the death of some one, whose name is not mentioned, in 1052 A.H. (1642-43 A.D.). The style of writing is *Thuluth* of an elegant type.

My reading of it is as under :—

TEXT (Plate XVIa)

- (۱) از عطارد خواستم تاریخ آن عنبر سرشت
(۲) گفت نظم هدیه سلطان ساکن مر بهشت

Middle panel :

هدیه سلطان ساکن مر بهشت

۱۰۵۲

TRANSLATION

(1) I sought from the Mercury (i.e. the heavenly scribe) the date of that ambergris-natured one.

(2) He replied in verse : *the gift of Sulṭān (has become) a dweller in Paradise.*

Middle panel :

The gift of Sulṭān (has become) a dweller in Paradise.

1052 (A.H.-1642-43 A.D.).

(a) Over the Jālī in the east wall of the larger tomb in the same place, Kurnool

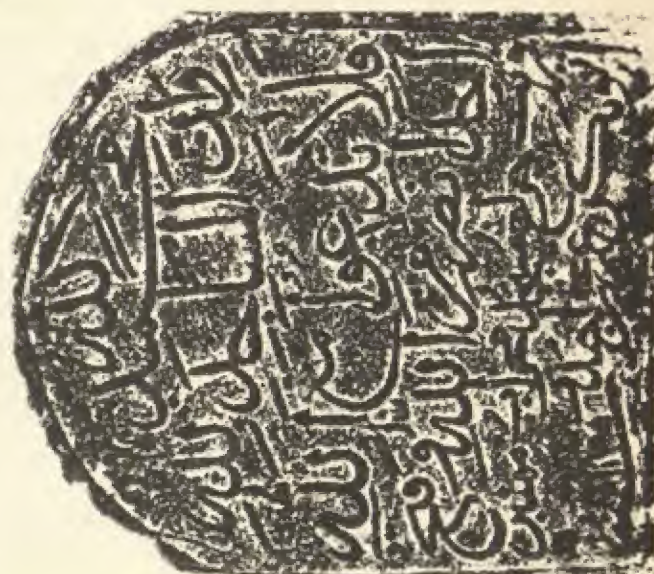


SCALE 1/7

(b) Over the southern entrance of the smaller tomb in the same place, Kurnool



SCALE 1/7



(c) Over the entrance of the Kā'ib Kā'im Shāh's Masjid, Kurnool

SCALE 3/3

The numerical value of the chronogram, given also in the middle panel, comes to 1252, which is 200 more than the actual date; there is no indication of any *takhrīj* or *ta'mīya* in the calculation.¹

The last inscription on the tomb is on a slab (2'1" by 1'4") built into the outer face of the wall, over the southern entrance. It merely bears a Quranic verse and pious ejaculations in Arabic, invoking blessings on the occupants of the tomb. They are executed in *Thulth* letters, artistically executed in relief and read as follows :—

TEXT (Plate XVI b)

(۱) و قل رب اغفر وارحم و انت خير الراحمين

(۲) الله اكبر اللهم اغفرهم بحرم محمد

TRANSLATION

(1) And say : O my Lord, forgive and show mercy and Thou art the best of the merciful!

(2) Allāh sufficeth. O God, forgive them for the sake of the sanctity of Muḥammad.

IV—INSCRIPTION ON THE IDRIS ŠAḤEB KĪ MASJID

The following inscription, of two verses in Persian, is found on two slabs which are fixed at different places in the mosque known to-day as Idris Šaḥeb kī Masjid. One of them is fixed into the left side of the southern wall of the middle room, facing the courtyard of the mosque, while the other is fixed into the wall of the tank of ablution, to the east of the courtyard. These two slabs are said to have been lying formerly in the building known as *Collector ka bungalow*, and were later transferred by some one to the mosque and fixed into their present position. The mosque also bears another inscribed slab (see No. XIX). On inquiry it was found that all the three slabs originally belonged to the Muravkonda fort. Muravkonda, a town on Kistna river at about 14 miles east by south of Nandikotkur, is said to have possessed 'a fine fort at the ford of Kistna. It was repaired and improved by the late Nabob Rasul Khan Bahadur and was dismantled during the mutiny by Colonel Whillock's movable Column'.²

The inscription given below records the erection of a bastion by Jauhar in the year 1067 A. H. (1656-57 A. D.). The style of writing is elegant *Thulth*. One of the slabs measures 2'1½" by 1'5" while the other 1'10½" by 1'10½".

TEXT (Plate XVII a)

(۱) بروجی همجو کوه الوند خوشتر

(۲) ندیده کس چنین در جای دیگر

(۳) تواربخش بجستم از خرد گفت

(۴) ز جوهر شد بنا این برج اکبر سنه ۱۰۶۷

¹ I am told by an expert chronogrammist of Delhi, Maulvi M. Idris that the word عطار has the numerical value of ۲ (ra) i.e. 200, which is to be subtracted from the total value, thus giving 1052. However, there is no indication in the text about subtracting the numerical value of any word.

² *Kurnool Manual*, 189.

TRANSLATION

- (1) A bastion most pleasing like the Mt. Alwand,¹
- (2) whose like none has seen anywhere—
- (3) I sought its date from Wisdom, (who) replied :
- (4) *This great bastion was constructed by Jauhar. Year 1067 (A. H.=1656-57 A.D.).*

The last hemistich affords the chronogram, which when worked out, yields 1067 A. H. also given in figures.

Jauhar of the inscription is obviously Sidi Jauhar Ṣalābat Khān², about whom reference has already been made in the preceding lines.

V—INSCRIPTION ON A GRAVE IN THE COMPOUND OF THE JĀMI' MOSQUE

In the courtyard of the Jāmi' mosque of the city, there are a number of graves. In the north-west corner, there is one, having at its head, an arch-shaped stone (3'8" from apex to bottom, 2'3½" wide and 5" thick) fixed up into the ground. The inscription on it comprises three Arabic and two Persian verses, of which four hemistiches contain chronograms. The Arabic portion is executed in beautiful *Ṭhaulih* while the Persian in good *Nasta'liq*. It records the demise of one Muḥammad 'Ādil who died in Rajab 1104 A.H. (1693 A.D.).

My reading of the same is as follows :—

TEXT (Plate XVII b)

- | | |
|-----|---|
| (۱) | یا غفور یا رحیم - الموت جسر یوصل الحبيب الى الحبيب |
| (۲) | محمد عادل انتقاله برجب فی عام ان له بجنات الفردوس مقام ۱۱۰۴ |
| (۳) | اذا وصل محمد عادل رحمة جعل الجنة مثواه حفرة |
| (۴) | القی ببالی من الغیب بغتة تاریخه عاماً و یدخل جنة ۱۱۰۴ |
| (۵) | مفزل عادل پیرسیدم سروش گفت دایم جنت آمد موردش ۱۱۰۴ |
| (۶) | نو بهار خلق حقاً نیز گفت آنچه گفتش بل هو الحق آمدش |

۱۱۰۴

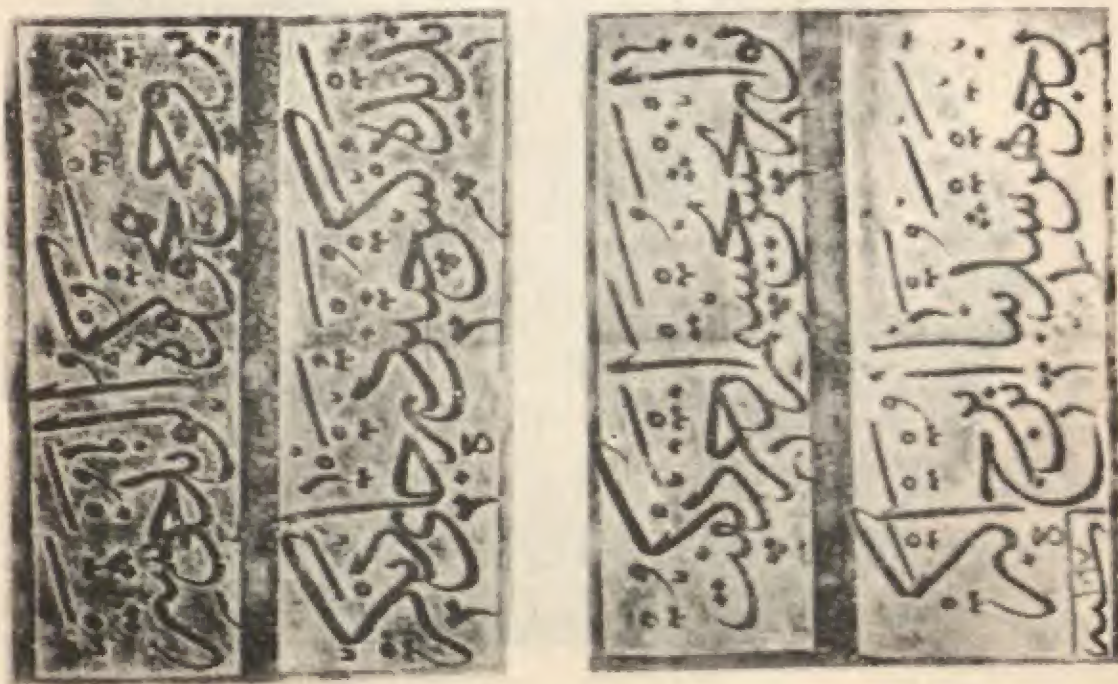
TRANSLATION

- (1) O Forgiver, O Merciful ! Death is a bridge uniting the friend with the Friend.
- (2) The death of Muḥammad 'Ādil took place in Rajab in the year (afforded by the chronogram): *Verily, he has his sojourn in the garden of Paradise. 1104.*
- (3) When Muḥammad 'Ādil joined the mercy (of God) i.e., died, Paradise was made his dwelling place.

¹ It is a high mountain in Hamadān.

² For a full account of Jauhar's career, see *Baḍā'ih*, pp. 373, 374, 375, 377-86, 388 etc.

(a) Over two slabs fixed at different places in the Idris Şakol
Ki Masjid, Kurnool



SCALE 16

(b) On the headstone of a grave in the Jāmi' Masjid, Kurnool



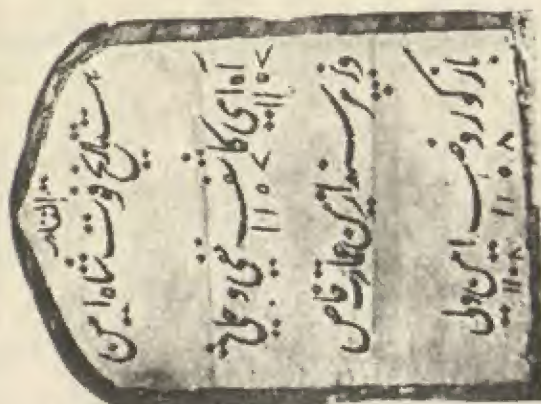
SCALE 15

(c) On a loose stone lying in the Rāmaji Ki Bān (step-well), Kallur, Kurnool



11

(b) From Babar, Jhanda Wala Dargah,
Karnal



2007.11.14.19

(c) On a grave in Qādi Bāshā's graveyard, Kurnub



三

(4) The year of his (death) was, all of a sudden cast into my mind from the Invisible world : *And he entered Paradise.* 1104.

(5) I inquired about the sojourn of 'Ādil, (when) the Invisible Angel said : *Paradise has perpetually been his residence.* 1104.

(6) He further said : *Verily (he was) the new-spring among people.* 1104 ; whatever he said has certainly been true for him¹.

VI—INSCRIPTION ON A STONE LYING IN A STEP-WELL AT KALLUR, A SUBURB OF KURNOOL

Kallur², a small village and a suburb of Kurnool is situated between Hindri and another rivulet called Wakiri. Towards west in the village is an ordinary step-well known to-day as Rāmājī kī bā'in. Inside the step-well in the yard between the steps and the well, there lies a big heap of stones beneath which the slab bearing the following inscription is buried. The inscription mentions the construction of a garden in 1139 A. H. (1726-27 A.D.) by Bahādur Khān. The stone obviously belonged to some place other than the step-well where it seems to have been deposited after the *Bāgh* mentioned in the inscription was brought into cultivation. It is likely that the site of the said garden might have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of the well. The garden, when extant, must have been called, as the epigraph mentions, Bāgh-i-Muhammadi.

It is an arch-shaped stone measuring 3'8" from apex to bottom, and is 2'9" wide and 8½" thick. The arched portion is cut into two parts containing the *Bismillāh*, while the rest is divided into four lines each cut into two panels. A border depicting foliage design surrounds the text of the inscription. The style of writing is bold *Nasta'liq* of a fairly good type.

My reading of the inscription is as follows :—

TEXT (Plate XVIII a)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
 (۲) کرد باغی بنا بفضل خدا ما اعز اسمہ و ما اعلیٰ
 (۳) ابرجود و کرم بہادر خان کہ از و گشت سبز باغ سخا
 (۴) ثمر کام او تر و تازہ شجر نام او جہان آرا
 (۵) سال تاریخ با دعا گفتیم باد باغ محمدی طوبی
 سنہ ۱۱۳۹

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Benificent, the Merciful.

(2-3) By the grace of God—He whose name is Glorified and Who is Most High, the cloud of liberality and generosity, Bahādur Khān, through whom the garden of munificence has come to flourish, constructed a garden.

¹ The last chronogram falls short of the date by one year. Maulvi Bashīr'u'd-Dīn Ahmad has published the text of this inscription without its facsimile, in his *Wāq'at-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijāpūr*, III, 418-19. My reading differs from him in three places. Moreover he has not been able to copy the last line, since it was buried under the rising level of the ground. The estampage from which the plate is made was prepared after some difficulty.

² For Kallur, see p. 309, *Journal of Indian History*, December, 1952.

(4) May the fruit of his desire (remain) always fresh and flourishing ; may the tree of his reputation bedeck the world.

(5) I composed the chronogram in the form of a prayer : *May the Bāgh-i-Muhammadi remain most excellent*¹. 1139.

The chronogram contained in the iast hemistich yields 1139 A. H. (1726-27 A.D.).

VII—INSCRIPTION ON KĀLE KARĪM ŠĀḤEB'S MOSQUE

An inscription on a slab of stone about 13" by 11" fixed over the gateway of Kāle Karīm Šāḥeb's mosque in Kurnool, merely gives Quranic verses, the praise of the four companions and a date. The style of writing is *Thulh* of an ordinary type.

TEXT (Plate XVI c)

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| الله | (۱) |
| محمد | (۲) |
| و ان المساجد لله | (۳) |
| فلا تدعوا مع الله | (۴) |
| احدا نصر من الله و فتح | (۵) |
| قريب چراغ مسجد محراب منبر (sic.) | (۶) |
| ابو بكر عمر عثمان حيدر | (۷) |
| سنة ۱۱۴۵ | (۸) |

TRANSLATION

- (1-2) Allāh, Muḥammad.
 (3) And verily, the mosques are for Allāh :
 (4) hence invoke not with Him,
 (5) anyone (else in it). Help is from Allāh and victory
 (6-7) near. Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and Haidar (i.e. 'Alī) are like (unto) the lamp, the mosque, the *miḥrāb* and the pulpit.
 (8) 1145 A. H. (1732-33 A.D.).

VIII—INSCRIPTIONS ON THE LĀL MASJID

The Lāl Masjid, not far from the tomb of 'Abdu'l Wahhāb bears an inscription dated 1151 A.H. (1738-39 A.D.). The inscribed slab (3'6" by 11") fixed over its main entrance is divided into three

¹ *Tibā* (Lote-tree) is also the name of a tree in Paradise. There is a pun on the word *طوبى*. Lote-tree is supposed to grow by the mansion of the Prophet Muḥammad in Paradise.

But for Prof. S. 'Abdu'l Karīm, M.A., of B. T. College and Prof. S. Faqir Bādshāh, M.A., of Osmania College, I could not have secured the copies of this as well as some other inscriptions. They accompanied me to distant places and gave their active co-operation for which my cordial thanks are due to them.

(a) Over the main entrance of the Lal Masjid, Karnool



SCALE 2

(b) Over the main entrance of Shāh Asadu'llāh Husaini's Tomb, Karnool



SCALE 2

parts, the middle one of which contains the main epigraph of four verses in Persian, recording the erection of the mosque by Sayyid Husain the great Shaykh, in the year 1151 A. H. The style of writing is ordinary *Nasta'liq*, while the side panels are inscribed in *Tughrā*.

TEXT (Plate XIX a)

(a) Left side :

- (۱) الله باق
(۲) و ما توفيقى الا بالله
(۳) يا ديان يا برهان

(b) Right side :

- (۱) الله كافي
(۲) يا مفتاح الابواب
(۳) يا حنان يا منان

(c) Middle portion :

- (۱) کرد مسجد بنا بنام خدا ما اعز اسمه و ما اعلى
(۲) آنکه سيد حسين شينخ اجل شد بتائيد مومنان اسمي
(۳) آن چنان خوش نهاد بنيادش به نمودار جنت الماوي
(۴) سال تعمير از خرد جستيم گفت خوش مسجد زكي علا

۱۱۵۱

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) God is Eternal.

(2) And my welfare is only in Allāh's hands.

(3) O Requirer of good and evil, O Proof !

(b) (1) God sufficeth.

(2) O Opener of gates !

(3) O Most Compassionate, O Benificent !

(c) (1) (He) constructed the mosque in the name of God—Whose name is Exalted and Who is Most High—

(2) namely, Sayyid Husain, the great Shaykh, endeavoured through the support of the believers.

(3) He laid its foundation in such a nice way that (it became) a model of the garden of Paradise.

(4) I sought its date from Wisdom, (who) said : a nice mosque, holy and lofty.

1151 (A. H.=1738-39 A.D.).

The chronogram is contained in the words 'a nice mosque, holy and lofty'.

The reparation of the above mosque by one Khidr Khān Khānūzai, who is also the composer of the fragment containing the chronogram, is mentioned in an inscription raised in mortar. It runs over the inner arch in the west wall of the prayer chamber. It was not possible to obtain an estampage and moreover the inscription is very recent. It will, however, not be out of place to give its reading :—

TEXT

- (۱) در ایام سابق بنا گشته بود همین خانه پاک رب الودود
 (۲) که از جهد موفور سید حسین ز املاک خود کرده جای سجود
 (۳) ز سن یازده صد و پنجاه و یک که تا این زمان کهنه مسجد نمود
 (۴) شکسته ز پا باز بسته لداو نظر کرده هر کس برای ستود
 (۵) سنش گفت با خضر هاتف چنان ز تعمیر مسجد چه رونق فزود

Over the outer arch :

قطعه تاریخ از جانب ساعی کار خضر خان خانوزنی جمعدار

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the bygone days, this holy house of God, the Loving, had been constructed.
 (2) Sayyid Husain, through great efforts, had built a place for prostration, out of his own pocket.
 (3) From eleven hundred and fifty one, till this day, it had become antiquated and repair-deserving.
 (4) Its roof was in a ruined condition : hence repaired ; whoever saw it was full of praise.
 (5) The *Hātif* thus conveyed its date to *Khidr* : *What a splendour has been added by the reconstruction of the mosque !* (1295 A.H.=(1878 A.D.).

Over the outer arch :

The fragment is composed by the undertaker of the work *Khidr Khān Khānūzai*, Jama'dār.

IX—INSCRIPTION ON BABAR JHANDE WALI'S DURGĀH

Near the Kallur Darwaza, inside a lane on the College Road, not far from the Police Station, is a small domed durgāh, which is now called the Babar Jhande Wali's durgāh. An inscribed slab (1'1½" by 1' 1½" by 3") is fixed in a vertical position by the right side of the grave facing the door. The correct name of the saint seems to have been *Shāh Amin* who was probably mentioned in his days with the honorific appellation 'wali' (i.e., saint). The date of his death, as recorded in the inscription is 1157 A.H. while the erection of his tomb took place in the following year. Both the dates are given in figures as well as chronograms.

The style of writing is *Nasta'liq*.

TEXT (Plate XVIII b)

- (۱) هو القادر
 (۲) هست تاریخ فوت شاه امین
 (۳) آه ای کاشف خفی و جل

(۴) ورد (۹) بیرسند ازین عمارت خاص

(۵) باز گو روضه امین ولی

۱۱۵۸

۱۱۵۸

TRANSLATION

(1) He is the All Powerful.

(2) The date of Shāh Amīn's death is :(3) *Alas ! O revealer of the hidden as well as the manifest ! 1157 A. H. (1744-45 A.D.).*

(4) And if they ask you regarding (the date of) this select building,

(5) speak out : (It is) *the tomb of Amīn, the saint.* 1158 A. H. (1745-46 A.D.).X—INSCRIPTION ON SHĀH ASADU'LLĀH ḤUSAINI'S TOMB

The building to which the following inscription belongs is situated in Budhārpēt in Kurnool, on the right bank of the Hindri, between the said river and the road leading to Zuhārpūr. It is not very far from the tomb of Pīr Ṣaḥēb already referred to. An open enclosure of four walls, it contains among those of others, the grave of Shāh Asadu'llāh Ḥusaini, who is claimed by the present Qādī family of Kurnool as their ancestor. The slab (3'7" by 1') fixed over the entrance of the enclosure, contains an epigraph giving 1039 A.H. as the date of the demise of the said divine and 1158 A.H. as the year in which the construction of the dargāh was carried out. The stone has been divided into three parts; those at ends are artistically designed and contain the two dates in chronograms and figures. The main portion, that is to say, the middle one, is executed in raised letters of *Nasta'liq*.

TEXT (Plate XIX b)

(a) Middle Portion :

(۱) چو شاه اسد الله کرد جنت مقام

(۲) رواں شد تم از دیدۀ خاص و عام

(۳) ازان هاتف غیب تاریخ او

(۴) بانوس گفت آه شیخ الانام ۱۰۳۹

(۵) بتعمیر روضه چو سید حسین

(۶) نموده بسی تمام اهتمام

(۷) جرد سال تاریخ آن جای پاک

(۸) بگفت آمده بن بنا با نظام ۱۱۵۸

(b) Right Portion :

(1) Under the arch :

الله کافی

(2) Inside the circle :

يا مفتح الابواب

(3) Around the circle :

يا حنان يا منان

يا ديان يا برهان

(4) At the bottom :

يا كريم - قبر خاص الهى - ١٠٣٩ - يا رحيم

(c) *Left Portion* :

(1) الله باقى

(2) و ما توفيقى الا بالله

(3) Same as in (b)

(4) يا كريم - حرم شيخ - ١١٥٨ - يا رحيم

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) When Shāh Asadu'llāh took his abode in Paradise,

(2) tears began to flow from the eyes of the high and the low.

(3) (Moved) at this, the Angel of the Invisible gave the date of his death,

(4) saying with sorrow : *Alas ! the Shaykh of mankind (is no more). 1039 (A.H.=1629-30 A. D.).*

(5-6) When Sayyid Husain, with every possible effort, undertook (the construction of the tomb),

(7-8) Wisdom gave the date of (the construction of) that holy place in the words : *This edifice has reached completion. 1158 (A.H.=1745-46 A.D.).*

(b) (1) Allāh sufficeth.

(2) O Opener of gates !

(3) O Most Compassionate, O Beneficent, O Requiter of good and evil, O Proof !

(4) O Generous ! *The grave of the favourite of God. 1039. O Merciful !*

(c) (1) Allāh is Eternal.

(2) And my welfare lies only with Allāh.

(3) Same as in (b).

(4) O Generous ! *The holy precincts of the Shaykh. 1158. O Merciful !*

XI—INSCRIPTION ON A GRAVE IN QĀDIR BĀDShĀH'S GRAVEYARD

On a grave in Qādir Bādshāh's graveyard in the Nai Peth, there is an inscription in two parts. The upper one, comprising the first five lines is carved in relief in *Naskh* on stone, while the lower one comprising two lines appears to have been incised in relief in mortar in *Nasta'liq*.

¹ This Sayyid Husain is in all probability the same who constructed the Lāl Masjid ; he seems to be a scion of Shāh Asadu'llāh. The present *khazib* of the Lāl Masjid claims him as his ancestor but is unable to provide any details regarding the life of either Sayyid Husain or Shāh Asadu'llāh. This as well as the inscription on the Lāl Masjid (plate XIX a) confirms the identity.

The inscription records the demise of one Husain who seems to have been a *Hāfiẓ* of the Qur'ān. The language is Persian verse running into six hemistiches.

I read it as under :—

TEXT (Plate XVIII c)

(۱) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

(۲) لَعَدَ حَافِظُ حُسَيْنٍ رَأَى بَنَگَرِ

۱۱۵۹

(۳) یازده حرفِ مَطْلَعِشِ بَشَرِ

(۴) سَالِ تَارِیخِ رَحْلِشِ دَرِیَابِ

(۵) اَزْ حَسَابِ جَمَلِ بَفْکَرِ صَوَابِ

(۶) هَفْتِ کَمِ کُنْ اَزَانِ عِدَدِ سَنَوَاتِ

(۷)شِ شُودِ سَنَنِ وَفَاتِ

TRANSLATION

- (1) There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is the Prophet of God.
- (2) Look at the grave of *Hāfiẓ Husain*. 1159 (A.H.=1746 A.D.).
- (3) Reckon the eleven letters of its opening line, (and)
- (4) get the year of his death,
- (5) by the numerical reckoning of *Abjad* system, through upright thinking.
- (6) Deduct seven years from this number (thus obtained)
- (7) so that it may yield the date of his death.

The numerical value of the eleven letters of the phrase *لَعَدَ حَافِظُ حُسَيْنٍ* comes to 1159, the year of the construction of the grave ; taking out seven from this number, we get 1152 which is the date of his death.

XII—INSCRIPTION ON *SHĀH YĀHŪ'S* TOMB

The inscription over the main entrance to the compound of *Shāh Yāhū's* tomb, is in Arabic mixed with Persian verse. In the compound, by the side of the tomb, stands a small mosque with no claims to architectural beauty or characteristics, which is probably the same as referred to in the inscription. The epigraph mentions the passing away of *Shāh Yāhū*, a local saint, the erection of the mosque by Husain, son of 'Alī, the gnostic, and also the date of latter's death. No mention of the construction of the tomb itself is made. The whole epigraph is carved in relief on four pieces of stones built up together so as to present an appearance of one whole. The upper slab thus measures 1'5½" × 8", while the lower (three pieces) measure 9½" by 11", 2'3" by 11½" and 9½" by 11½".



TEXT (Plate XX a)

Upper Portion :

- (۱) یا الله - بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - یا الله
 (۲) ناد علیا مظهر المعجایب تجده عوناً لك (فی النوایب) كل هم و غم سینجلی بنوئتك
 (۳) یا محمد و بولایتك یا علی - لا فتی الا علی و لا سیف الا ذو الفقار

Lower Portion, middle part :

- (۱) گفت دیوان وفات شه یاهو ذکر کم لا اله الا هو ۱۰۹۰
 (۲) حسین بن علی عارف و مقتدای این مسجد بنا کرد نام خدای ۱۱۰۱
 (۳) بسال وفاتش بگفته سروش خدا داد او را بفردوس جای ۱۱۸۸

Right part :

(a) Corners

الهی	الهی
میکائیل علیه السلام	جبرئیل علیه السلام
ابراهیم	قاسم
الهی	الهی
اسرائیل علیه السلام	عزرائیل علیه السلام
طیب	طاهر

(b) In the innermost circle, with decorative motif of the circular arrangement of the word هم

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله - طه

(c) Around (b) decorated likewise :

ابا بکر صدیق رضی الله عنه عمر ابن خطاب رضی الله عنه عثمان ابن عفان رضی الله عنه
 علی ابن ابیطالب رضی الله عنه

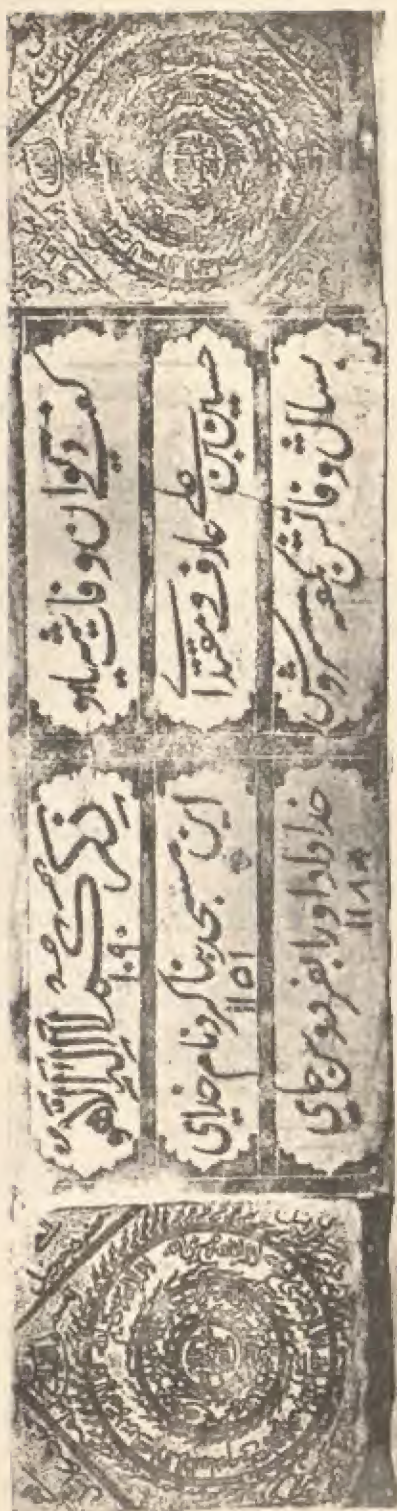
(d) Around (c) decorated as above :

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله لا اله الا الله آدم صفی الله لا اله الا الله ابراهیم خلیل الله
 لا اله الا الله عیسی روح الله لا اله الا الله نوح نبی الله لا اله الا الله موسی کلیم الله

Left side :

Same as in right side except that the name of the arch-angels begin with حضرت dropping
 علیه السلام .

(a) Over the main entrance of Shāh Yāhū's Dargāh, Kurmool



SCALE 2

SCALE 15



b. Over the gat way of the Masjid-i-Aṣṭabal, Kurmool

TRANSLATION

Upper Portion :

- (1) O God ! In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful, O God!
 (2) *Nād-i-'Alī*. There is no youth save 'Alī, and there is no sword save *Dhu'l Faqār*.

Lower Portion, middle part :

(1) *Dīwān* has found the chronogram for *Shāh Yābū's* death in the words : (O Saint), your repetition was '*there is no god except Him.*' 1090 (A. H.=1679-80 A.D.).

(2) *Husain*, son of 'Alī, the gnostic and the chief, constructed this mosque in the name of God. 1151 (A. H.=1738-39 A. D.).

(3) The Invisible Angel said for the date of his death : *God granted him abode in Paradise.* 1188 (A.H.=1774-75 A.D.).

The rest of the inscription does not need any translation as it merely gives the names of the four angels, that of the Prophet, his sons and companions, and the text of declarations of faith in the Oneness of God and the six major prophets.

Over the doorway of the tomb itself, there is an inscription of three verses in Persian, written in *Nasta'liq* and composed by one A'zam. It merely mentions the reparation of the dome, etc., in 1219 A.H. (1804-5 A.D.) by Qāim *Khān* Mandūzai, who is mentioned in a number of inscriptions belonging to this period.

XIII—INSCRIPTION ON THE MASJID-I-AṢṬABAL

This mosque, so called after its location near the royal stable, is situated in the Fort area alongside the road to the Municipal office, a little north to the cross of this road with the Bastion Road. An inscription in Persian verse, over its gateway, records the reparation of the mosque and the gateway by one Sayyid Yūsuf at the instance of Nawāb Alif *Khān* in the year 1219 A.H. (1804-5 A.D.).

The style of writing is *Nasta'liq*, the inscriptional tablet measuring 2' 2" by 1'.

TEXT (Plate XX b)

- (۱) زادشاد الف خان سید یوسف مرمت کرد هم مسجد و هم باب
 (۲) بسال اختتامش گفت هاتق زهی تعمیر مسجد شد ز نواب

۱۲۱۹

TRANSLATION

(1) At the command of Alif *Khān*, Sayyid Yūsuf repaired the mosque as well as (its) gate.

(2) *Hātīf*, (by way of giving) the date of its completion, said : *What a nice reconstruction of the mosque was carried out by the Nawāb.* 1219 (A.H.=1804-5 A.D.).

XIV—INSCRIPTION ON THE BUDHDHĀ BUDHDHĪ KĪ MASJID

Another inscription mentioning the construction of a mosque by Sayyid Yūsuf, same as above under the orders of the same Nawāb, is carved in raised letters in *Nasta'liq* characters, on a slab

(1' 3½" by 10") fixed over the middle of the three arches, in the east wall of the prayer-chamber of the above mosque. It is a small mosque, of quite an ordinary type, thus refuting itself the claim of a wonderful building preferred in its favour by the composer of the chronogram, one Aṣfiyā.

TEXT (Plate XXII a)

- (۱) بفيض ذات الف خان بانصرام رسيد
(۲) بدست سيد يوسف چو اين بناى عجيب
(۳) نوشت اصفيا سال سعادت تعمير
(۴) حسيني مسجد كرتول بيت رب مجيب

۱۲۲۰

TRANSLATION

(1-2) When through the grace of the person of Alif Khān, this wonderful edifice was constructed by Sayyid Yūsuf,

(3) Aṣfiyā composed the chronogram of its happy construction

(4) (thus): *Husaini mosque of Kurnool, the house of the Responding Lord. 1220 (A. H.=1805-6 A.D.).*

This inscription gives the original name of the mosque as *Husaini masjid*, which has been turned into a ridiculous name of *Budhdhā Budhdhi kī masjid*. In the month of *Muḥarram*, the guises of an old man and a woman representing some popular episode, were enacted in the open space nearby, which stirred popular fancy and imagination resulting in the name by which the mosque is called to day.

XV—INSCRIPTION ON A STEP-WELL ON THE WAY TO GARDI MURUD

On the road to Gardi Murud, at about 5 miles from Kurnool, there is a step-well by the roadside, in the proximity of which there is also a fast-falling four wall enclosure, representing the durgāh of one Sayyid Jalil. The step-well, the inscription on it tells us, was constructed by Qāim Khān Mandūzai, but it is very likely that it was rebuilt or reconstructed in its entirety. The inscription which is of three lines in Persian verse, is important inasmuch as it helps us to identify, if only by name, the person lying buried in the adjoining durgāh, viz. Sayyid Jalil.

The style of writing is *Nasta'liq*. The stone measures 2' 4" by 10".

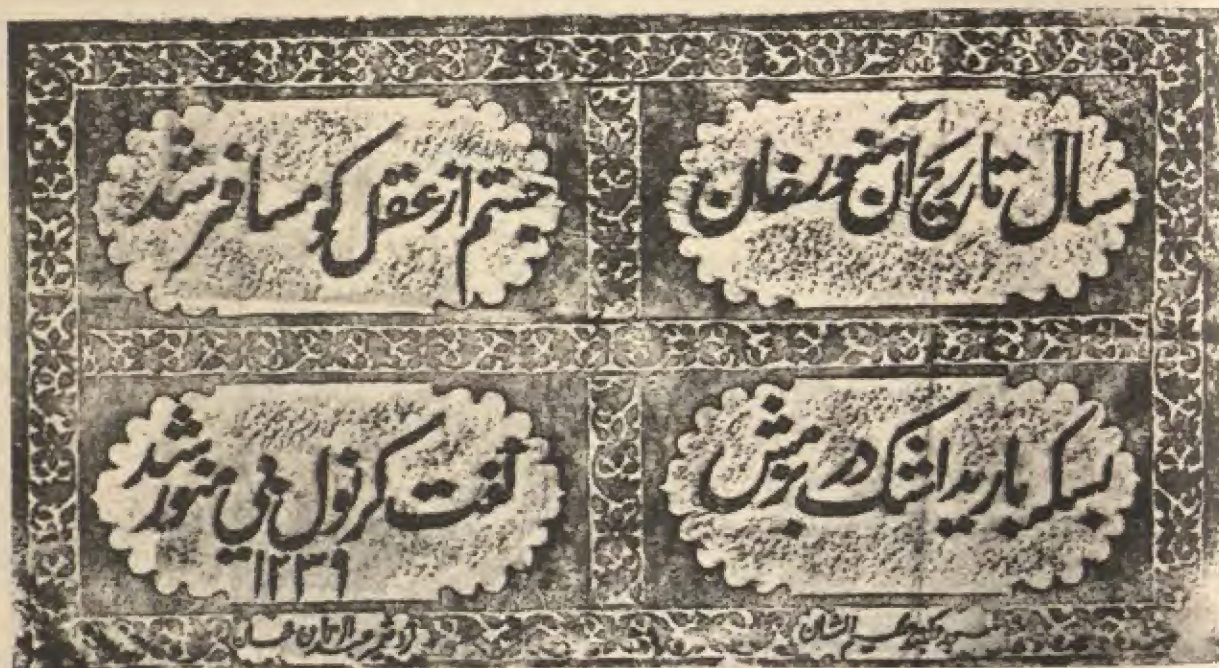
The inscription reads as follows :—

TEXT (Plate XXII b)

- (۱) بمقرون درگاه سيد جليل
(۲) بجود و عطا نيست آنرا نظير
(۳) بگفتست ديوان بتاريخ بير
چو قايم خان مندوزي خادم جميل
نمود است تعمير چاه سيبيل
کز اين چاه شده مثل آن سلسيل

۱۲۱۹

(a) On the grave of Nawāb Munawwar Khān, Zuhrapūr, Kurnool



SCALE · 25

(b) From the Idris Sāheb Kī Masjid, Kurnool



SCALE · 15

TRANSLATION

(1) When in the close vicinity of the durgāh of Sayyid Jalil, Qāim Khān Mandūzal, a gracious servant

(2) who has no equal in gift and liberality—constructed a step-well by the roadside,

(3) Diwān composed the chronogram illustrating the date of the well (in these words):
*A well, its like is to be found in Salsabil.*¹ 1219 A.H. (1804-5 A.D.).

The chronogram is contained in the last hemistich. It yields the date given in figures when the first word is read as *کنز این*².

XVI—INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ENCLOSURE OF THE TOMB OF MUNAWWAR Khān

The tomb of Nawāb Munawwar Khān is situated in the compound of Sayyid Qādir Bukhārī's durgāh. The tomb of Nawāb Munawwar Khān is situated to the south of the Sayyid's tomb; but unlike the latter, which arrests immediate attention of the visitor both from its position and its building, it is a simple tomb, enclosed by four walls and open from above. There are five graves inside, all of solid dark stone, in a single row from east to west. The middle one has the following inscription, carved in letters in relief on a dark green granite (2' 3½" by 1' 3") fixed up at its head. The stone is cut into four panels in two lines, each panel being arched at its both ends and separated from the other and surrounded on all sides by an artistic border of foliage design. The inscription records Munawwar Khān's death which took place in 1239 A.H. (1823 A.D.). The lower border contains one more verse, giving the name of the builder of the dome and also mentioning the construction of a mosque which is obviously a small structure, practically in ruins, in the same compound.

The style of writing is *Nasta'liq*.

The inscription reads as follows :—

TEXT (Plate XXI a)

(۱) سال تاریخ آن منور خان جستم از عقل کو مسافر شد

(۲) بسکه بارید اشک در بزمش گفت کرنول بی منور شد

۱۲۳۹

(۳) مسجد و گنبد عظیم الشان کرد تعمیر عبد الرحمن خان

TRANSLATION

(1) I sought from Reason the chronogram for (the death of) Munawwar Khān, saying,
 'He has fared his way (to the other world).'

¹ *Salsabil* is the name of a stream in Paradise.

² The composition of this chronogram betrays lack of poetical talent or proper knowledge of the Persian language; for example, see the last hemistich which contains the chronogram.

(2) Since tears poured down in his assembly, Reason replied : *Kurnool has become devoid of Munawwar* (Kurnool became lightless), 1239 (A.H.).

(3) 'Abdu'r Raḥmān Khān has constructed (this) magnificent dome and mosque.

Another inscription fixed over the main entrance of the compound, gives a chronogram in Urdu for his death, the text of which is as follows :—

آفتاب اس زمانکا آج گیا سب نجیبوں کا سر کا تاج گیا
جب بنا دل سے یوں کہا تاریخ گفت ہاتف چراغ آج گیا
۱۲۳۹

The following inscriptions belonging to the middle of the 13th century have been included in this article only because they are related to the last Nawāb of Kurnool, Ghulām Rasūl Khān and throw some light on the activities of this much criticised chief. Moreover, some of these inscriptions, unlike the trend of their age, are executed in *Naskh* or *Thulth* characters which are of a considerably fair type.

Of these, one is from the *Seh Rawāqī* mosque ; one mentions the construction (or more correctly reparation) of a fort ; one records the name of a garden built by the Nawāb, which is also a chronogram, while the remaining five are from the mosque known as *Āthār kī Masjid*.

XVII—INSCRIPTION ON THE SEH RAWĀQI MOSQUE

Opposite the Jāmi' Mosque, near the gate of Gopāl Rāja, is a mosque known as *Seh Rawāqī Masjid*. It is said to have been constructed by Maḥzar 'Alī, a diwan of the nawabs of Kurnool. There is an inscription on it recording the erection of the masjid (called *Masjid-i-Maḥzar* there), in the year 1240 A.H. during the reign of the last Nawāb.

The inscription is carved in relief in good *Nasta'liq* and the stone measures 1' 10" by 9".

TEXT (Plate XXII c)

- (۱) چو در زمان غلام رسول خان نواب بنای مسجد مظهر شلم بد بسم الله
(۲) بگفت ہاتف غیبی بسال تعمیرش زہیست مسجد اطیب نمونہ بیت الله

۱۲۴۰

TRANSLATION

(1) When during the reign of Ghulām Rasūl Khān the Nawwāb, the construction of the *Masjid-i-Maḥzar* took place with (the recitation of) *Bismillāh*.

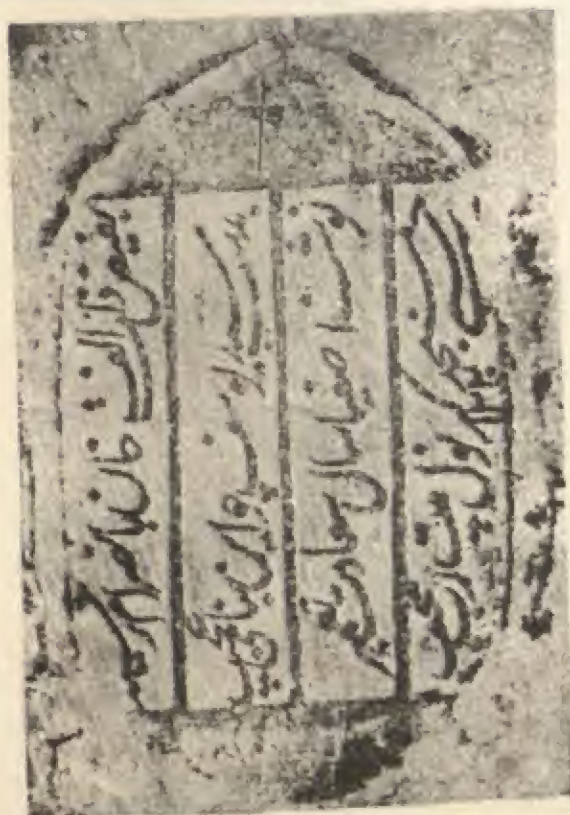
(2) the Angel of the Unseen, for the date of its construction said : *How nice ! the most elegant mosque (has become) a replica of the house of God.* 1240 (A.H.=1824-25 A.D.).

XVIII—INSCRIPTION ON A LOOSE STONE

About two and a half miles west of Kurnool, there is a *bāgh* (fruit-garden-cum-field) belonging to Janāb 'Abdu'l Ḥalīm Khān Khālīl. 'A huge slab of dark green granite, measuring about 4' 6" by 2' 5" is lying loose there. It is said to have been brought to the present place from the *Āthār*

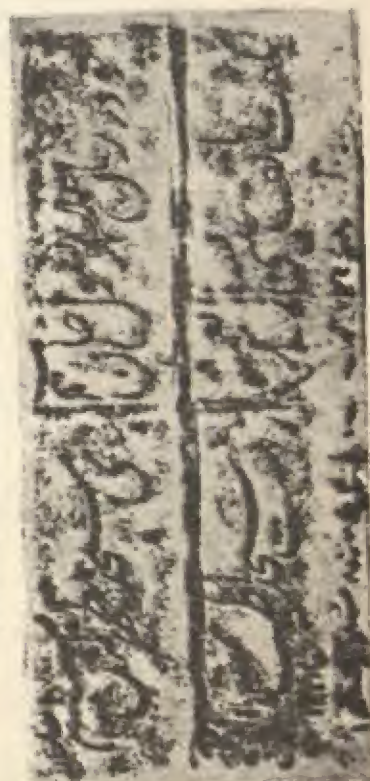
¹ The text of this inscription has been given in the *Wāqī'āt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bījāpūr*, III, *opp. cit.*, 418.

(a) From the Budhahbūdhdhī ki Masjid, Kurnool



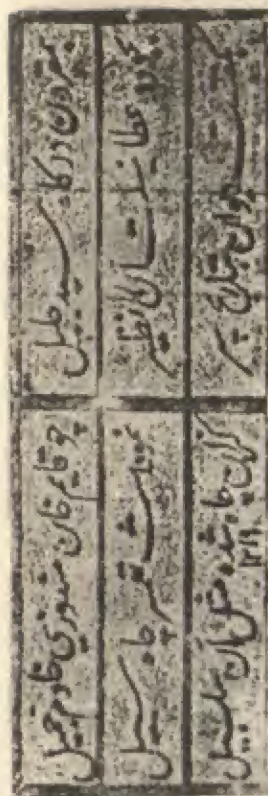
SCALE · 25

(c) From the Seh Rawāqī Masjid, Kurnool



SCALE · 2

(b) From a step-well on the way to Gardi Murād, Kurnool



SCALE · 14

(d) On a stone lying loose in a field, Kurnool



SCALE · 07

Building. It is originally said to have been set up on the *bāgh* constructed by the last Nawāb Ghulām Rasūl Khān at a place called Panchlingal. The inscription on it, comprising the words باغ ادم (which seems to have been the name given to the garden) and the date 1244 A.H., is executed in *Thulth*. A border of foliage design covers the inscription.

TEXT (Plate XXII d)

باغ ادم ۱۲۴۴

TRANSLATION

Bāgh-i-Iram¹. 1244 (A.H.=1828-29 A.D.).

XIX—ANOTHER INSCRIPTION ON THE IDRIS SĀHEB KĪ MASJID

The slab bearing this inscription is fixed into the southern wall of the rooms of the mosque facing the courtyard. The slab which measures 3' 11" by 1' 11" is reported to have been brought to the mosque by one Khaliq Sāhib, probably along with the two other slabs (see No. IV) from the collector's bungalow. As has been already observed, all these slabs belonged in all probability to the fort at Muravkonda.

The slab is cut into eight horizontal panels in four lines, each panel being arched at its ends. It is surrounded by a border of the same type of foliage design as is to be seen on most of the bordered inscriptions at this place. Each panel contains a hemistich in Persian while the arched portions of the same contain *Bismillāh*, invocations of God by His Attributes, and the names of the composer and the engraver. The Persian verses are executed in relief in letters of *Nasta'liq*, while the portion in Arabic is inscribed in *Thulth*.

My reading of the inscription is as follows :—

TEXT (Plate XXI b)

الرحيم	الرحمن	الله	بسم	(۱)
بنا قلعه اشرف خان کرده بر آب			بامر نواب غلام رسول	
يا قيوم	يا قايم	الاعلى	هو العلى	(۲)
بی سیر نواب عالی جناب			پس آندم به برج قلعه آمده	
و الاكرام	ذو الجلال	مالك الملك	هو الحاكم	(۳)
يكی مصرع تاریخ از انتخاب			کمال آنزمان فی البدیهه بخواند	
	محزون	شاه کمال	مصنفه	(۴)
ابو الحسن محمد	و	کرمی	و	
	کاتبه		مورخه	
ببرج شرف آمده آفتاب			سنس لفظ اعدا برون کرده گفت	

۱۲۴۴

¹ Bāgh-i-Iram, the garden said to have been constructed on earth, as a replica of paradise, by Shaddād.

TRANSLATION

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. He is the High, the Most Exalted. O Subsisting, O Upright! He is the Judge, the Lord of the Dominion, Master of Glory and Greatness. The author and composer of the chronogram is Shāh Kamāl Karīmī; its writer and engraver is Abu'l Ḥasan Muḥammad.

At the orders of Nawwāb Ghulām Rasūl, Ashraf Khān constructed the fort on the river.

Then, the Nawwāb of lofty threshold came up to the bastion for sight-seeing.

At that time, Kamāl recited on the spur of the moment, one hemistich containing the date, by way of selection (that is to say),

Having taken out the word *enemy*, he said: *The sun has come to the House (bastion) of honour.* 1245 (A.H.=1829-30 A.D.).

The date is obtained by taking out the numerical value of the word 'enemy' (i.e. 76) from that of the last hemistich (i.e. 1321).

It may be pointed out that the inscription mentions the construction and not reparation of a fort by Ashraf Khān at the instance of Ghulām Rasūl Khān.

XX—INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MASJID-I-ĀTHĀR

The mosque is so called because it is located in the compound of the building known as Āthār Sharif, where the *āthār-i-mubārak* or the sacred relics were displayed every year on particular days. These relics, I am told, included the Mū-i-Mubārak (the holy hair of the Prophet), the foot-wear of the great divine 'Abdu'l Qādir Jilānī, popularly known as Pirānpīr Dastgīr, the portraits of 'Alī and the Prophet etc., that of the last-mentioned portraying his miracle known as *Shāqu'ul Qamar* or splitting of the moon.

The mosque was begun by the last Nawāb. Its construction appears to have been held up for some reason or the other, and the mosque as it stands today remains incomplete. There are five inscriptions on it, each on a slab of darkish green granite, fixed over the arches supporting the roof. The mosque, as revealed from the inscriptions, was probably meant to be called *Madīna masjid* and was intended to serve as a congregational mosque.

Of these five inscriptions, two on ends are executed in four panels with arched ends and surrounded by a border. The other two are cut into four rectangular panels, each, with a border. A marked feature of these inscriptions which distinguishes them from other inscriptions of this period (which are executed in *Nasta'liq*) is their style of writing. The style is *Ṭḥulṭh* of a fairly high type and shows the taste of the Nawāb. However, the poetry of the inscriptions is not of an equal order. It is composed by three different poets Jauhar, Hamrāz and Kamāl.

Three of them mention the date 1248 A.H. (1832-33 A.D.) and the rest 1252 A.H. (1836-37 A.D.), the former probably marking the commencement of the building and the latter giving the year in which it was nearing completion. However, all the slabs show the same calligraphic hand.

The language of the inscriptions, except the middle one which is in Arabic, is Persian verse.

They read, from right to left, as follows:—

(a)

TEXT (Plate XXII)

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (۱) | بنامود غلام رسول خان نواب | به بارگاه رسالت بفضل یزدانی |
| (۲) | کمال چون سن تعمیر جست هاتف گفت | جواب مسجد اقصی بنای شد ثانی |

۱۲۴۸

¹ The inscriptional stones in (a), (b) & (d) measure 4' 7" by 2' 2" while that in (c) measures 4' 3" by 2' 2"

(a)



(b)



(d)



(c)



TRANSLATION

(1) Qhulām Rasūl Khān, the Nawwāb, through Divine Grace, constructed this mosque in the audience-hall of Prophethood.¹

(2) When Kamāl sought the year of its construction, *Hātif* replied : *Another masjid-i-Aqqā has been constructed.* 1248 (A.H.=1832-33 A.D.).

(b)

TEXT

(۱) مسجد نو ساخت تو اب رسول خان بهادر راز دار من عرف

(۲) سال او همراز جست از هاتفی گفت جمعه مسجد بیت الشرف

۱۲۳۸

TRANSLATION

(1) Nawwāb Rasūl Khān Bahādur, the possessor of the secret of *He who knew*², constructed a new mosque.

(2) Hamrāz sought the year of its (erection) from the Invisible Angel who said : (The chronogram is) *the Jāmi' mosque, the house of honour.* 1248 (A.H.=1832-33 A.D.).

(c)

TEXT

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) و ان المساجد لله فاعبدوه

(۳) و انتم عاكفون فيه

۱۲۳۸

TRANSLATION

(1-3) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. *And Verily, the mosques are for Allāh ; hence, worship Him only, while you are inside.*³ 1248 (A.H.=1832-33 A.D.).

(d)

TEXT

(۱) نواب عالی منزل یعنی رسول خاست تیار ساخته او با صد قرینه مسجد

(۲) جوهر میدای دلکش آمد ز پرده غیب گر مکه تو ندیده بنگر مدینه مسجد

۱۲۵۲

TRANSLATION

(1) The Nawwāb of lofty station, that is to say, Rasūl Khān, has erected this mosque with a hundred cares ;

(2) O Jauhar, a heart-attracting voice has come from the curtain of the Unseen saying : *If you have not seen Mecca, have a look at the Madīna mosque (here).* 1252 (A.H.=1836-37 A.D.).

¹ This probably has a reference to the *Āthār Buildings*.

² The whole saying is *من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه*. 'He who knows himself knows God'.

³ This whole sentence gives the chronogram whose composition is popularly attributed to the Nawwāb himself.

(e)

TEXT

- (۱) حاکم کرنول غلام رسول ساخت چو این مسجد نو محترم
 (۲) جوهر مداح بتاریخ او گفت بمن ثانی بیت الحرم

۱۲۵۲

TRANSLATION

- (1) Ghulām Rasūl, the ruler of Kurnool, constructed this new mosque, worthy of reverence;
 (2) Jauhar, an admirer, for its chronogram said to me: *(It is) next to the Holy House*
(Ka'ba). 1252 (A.H.=1836-37 A.D.).

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DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

1953 and 1954

SOME ARABIC AND PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE EAST PUNJAB

By Dr M. WAHID MIRZA, Lucknow

The decipherment of old coins and epigraphs is one of the most fascinating studies which is pregnant with rich possibilities, sometimes providing us with the only means of reconstructing the ancient history of a country. Very often again, these coins and inscriptions help us in supplementing our knowledge even about those periods of history on which standard works have been written by patient and painstaking historians. Thus an insignificant stone tablet or a piece of plaster which has withstood the merciless ravages of time and escaped the thoughtless hand of the vandal, becomes an important historical link, a valuable record in the annals of history. Apart from this, they often faithfully illustrate the different changes which a particular script has undergone during the various stages of its development. Many of them, for sheer elegance of style and delicacy of touch rival, nay, even surpass the finest specimens of calligraphy preserved for us on paper. What could, indeed, be more interesting and edifying aesthetically than to decipher an intricate piece of such writing, letter by letter, and to discover at last the secret it holds, even though it is, no doubt, a difficult task requiring patience and concentration especially in the case of damaged epigraphs? I, therefore, readily agreed to study in an article some of the inscriptions from various places in the East Punjab when approached by the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy who supplied me with their estampages.

Among the various parts of India rich in old inscriptions, the East Punjab holds a prominent position, for it was here that most of the battles for the possession of the Delhi throne were fought and consequently, it was here that the Delhi Kings built a number of strong-holds and fortresses for the defence of the Capital against the invaders from the north-west. Several towns of the East Punjab, such as Panipat, Thaneswar, Sirsa and Deopapur, figure prominently in the medieval history of India, and some of them have a long and chequered history going back far beyond the middle ages. Numerous inscriptions lie strewn all over the country, and although, thanks mainly to the care and industry of the Archaeological Department employees, many of them have been successfully deciphered, there are many others which still await decipherment by those interested in Arabic and Persian studies and the history of Medieval India.

Out of the ten inscriptions that have been studied in the following lines, five are from Hansi, the earliest being dated 767 A.H. and the latest 1093 A.H. All of them are executed in the *Nasta'liq* character of various types except one written in *Nasta'liq*. Three of these mention the construction of mosques, one the construction of a gate along with the repairs of a fort, while the third seems to mention the construction of a well; the portion, in this inscription containing the purport of the record is badly damaged. The two following records coming from Kangra, belong to the later Mughul period and are executed in *Nasta'liq* script, recording the deaths of certain persons

of at least local importance. The next two epigraphs belong to Kaithal and record the construction of a fortress and a mosque; one of these belongs to the *Khalji* period while the other is dated 1155 A.H. The last inscription of the group is reported to have been collected from Batala. It is in Arabic, carved in *Naskh* of a beautiful type, recording the construction of a tank, a mosque and a garden. Thus, these inscriptions ranging from 767 A.H. to 1161 A.H. cover a period of about four centuries, shedding light on the different stages of calligraphic styles, the titles in use, the zeal for constructing various monuments displayed by the kings and their subjects, etc.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM HANSI

One of the old towns prominent in the annals of Indian history is Hansi,¹ lying in the Hisar District, only 15 miles from the town of Hisar, originally *Ḥiṣār-i-Firūza*, built by *Firūz Shāh Tughlaq* in 757 A.H.² Hansi according to a popular legend, was built by Anangpal of the Tomar dynasty, but there are strong reasons to believe that it was a flourishing town as early as the *Kushān* period. It was captured from Anangpal by *Sulṭān Mas'ūd of Ghazna* in 1036 A.D., but was probably retaken by the *Rajah* in 1043 A.D. Later on it fell into the hands of *Muḥammad Ghūrī* and since then, it remained the headquarters of the district till its place was taken by Hisar. In the succeeding centuries, the town was the scene of several bloody contests between rival states, and the *Maraṭhtas*, the *Sikhs* and the *British* fought for its possession, while for a short period it remained in the hands of an English adventurer who had carved out for himself a more or less independent principality in *Haryana* territory. It suffered also from a severe famine and earthquake, became depopulated and deserted, till finally it was reduced to its present state—a small unimportant town with hardly any commercial or industrial activity. The political upheavals to which the town has been subjected from time to time are, to a great extent, responsible for the destruction and disappearance of most of its historical monuments but some of them have survived and bear interesting inscriptions—mute witnesses to the past glory of this ancient city.

The following inscription executed in the *Naskh* script, appears on the central *mihrāb* of the *Ādina masjid* in the *Bāzār Muḥalla*, Hansi. It measures nearly 2½' by 1½', and is complete and easily decipherable. Consisting of three lines, it runs as follows:—

TEXT

Plate I (a)

- (۱) بتوفیق خدای علام و برکت مصطفی علیه السلام در عهد میمون [و] دولت هایون
 (۲) خدایگان عالم پناه بادشاه اسلام داعی الانام فیروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه
 (۳) و سلطانہ ہند درگاہ شاہین سلطانی بتاریخ غرہ ذی القلعہ سنہ سبع و سنین و سبعایہ این
 مسجد بنا کرد

TRANSLATION

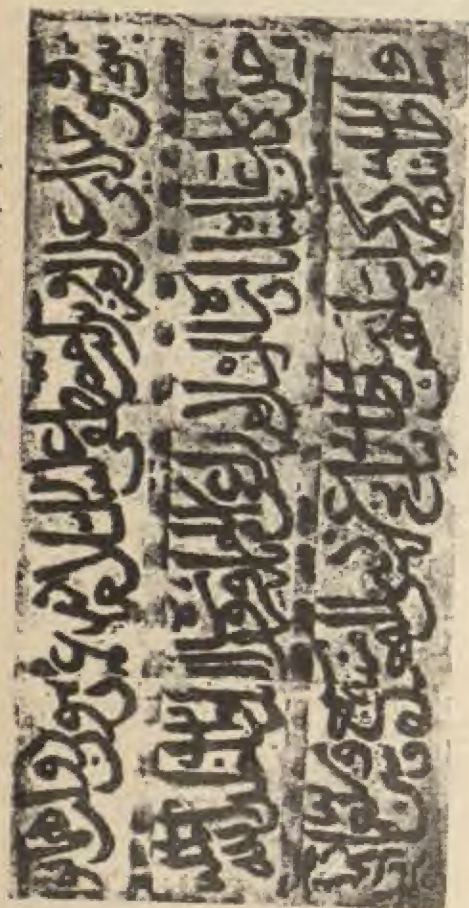
(1) With the guidance of God, the Omniscient, and the blessing of the Prophet *Muṣṭafā*, peace be upon him, in the auspicious reign and benign regime of

(2) the great Master, the Shelter of the World, the King of *Islām*, the Guardian of the creatures, *Firūz Shāh* the king, may God perpetuate his kingship

¹ For a short history of this town, see the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (s.v.).

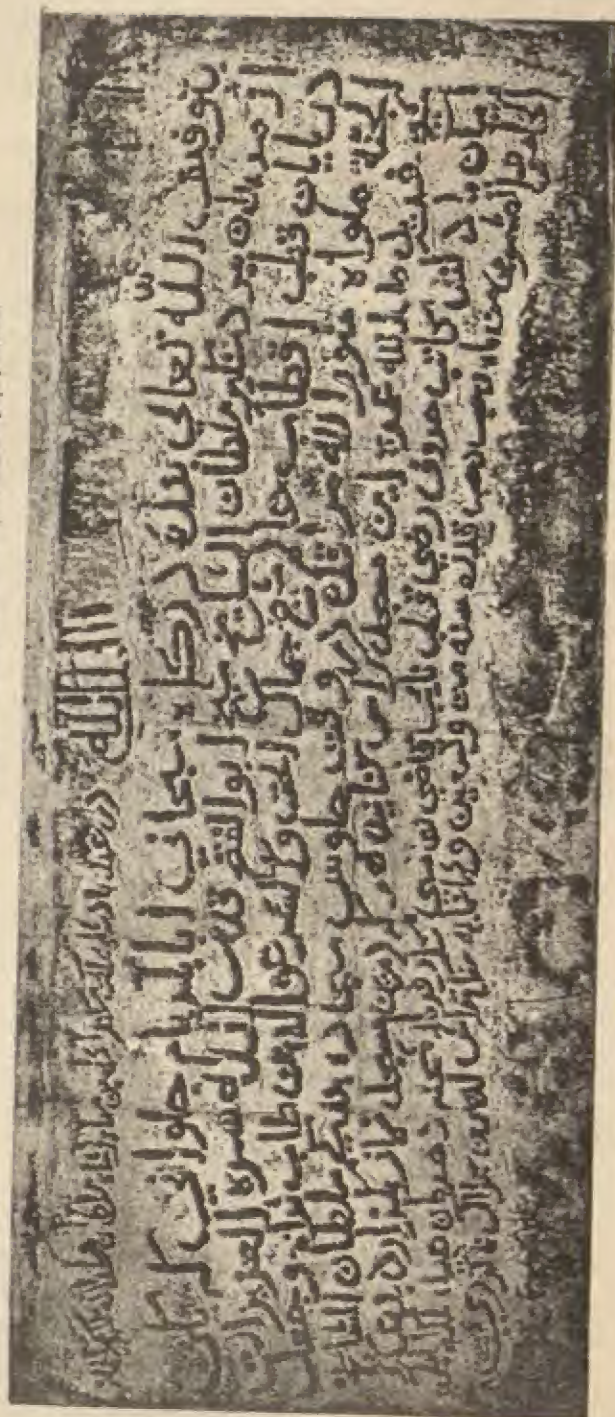
² *Tārīkh-i-Firūziya* (Nawal Kishore Ed.), I, p. 146.

(a) On the central mihrāb of the Āḥna Mosque, Bāzār Muḥalla, Haṣṣī



Scale : 15

(b) In the centre of the first arch on the right, Jami' Mosque, Chār Quḥb, Haṣṣī



Scale : 25

(3) and suzerainty, the slave of the (royal) threshold, Shāhīn Sultānī, on the first day of Dhu'l Qa'da in the year seven hundred and sixty-seven (10 July 1366 A.D.) laid the foundation of this mosque.

It is evident from the inscription that the mosque¹ on which it appears was built during the reign of Sultān Firūz Tughlaq, who succeeded Muhammad Tughlaq in the year 752 A.H., by one of his amīrs, probably attached to the royal court, named Shāhīn Sultānī. An amīr of this name Malik Shāhīn Bek, son of Malik Maḥmūd Bek is mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, who, along with his brother, Malik Abū Muslim, came from Delhi to pay homage to Firūz Shāh while he was encamping at Hansi preparatory to his entry into the capital, and was honoured and rewarded by him.²

A slab of yellow stone fixed in the centre of the first arch from the right hand side in the Jāmi' masjid in the Chār Qutb,³ Hansi, bears another interesting inscription in Persian, giving the date of the building and the names of the founder, the composer of the inscription, and the stone-carver. It belongs to the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lūdī, son of Sultān Bahlūl, which was one of the most brilliant periods of the pre-Mughul era of Indian history. The inscription, again in *Naskh*, measures 2½' by 1' and runs thus:—

TEXT

Plate I (b)

- (۱) الملك لله - در عهد بادشاه مملکت سکندر شاه بن بهلول شاه سلطان خلد الله و سلطانه
- (۲) بتوفیق الله تعالى بنده درگاه سبحانی ابا بکر بام جلوانی که یکی
- (۳) از مریدان پیر دستگیر سلطان المشایخ شیخ ابو الفتح قدس الله سره العزیز است
- (۴) در پایان قطب اقطاب عالم شیخ جمال الحق و الشرع و الدین طاب ثراه و جعل
- (۵) الجنة مثواه و نور الله مراقده (کذا) در وقت جلوس سجاده بندگی سلطان المشایخ
- (۶) شیخ فرید مد الله عمره این مسجد راست کنانید هر که درین مسجد نماز بگذارد بدعا
- (۷) ایمان یاد کند کاتب حروف رضی قطب نایب قاضی هانسی و کار فرمای شعبه دهرمان عبید للملک الابدی
- (۸) الخامس و العشرین من ماه رجب رجب قدره سنه ست و تسعین و ثمانمائه سنکتر اش لدهن ؟
بن جلال ناگوری

TRANSLATION

(1) Kingdom belongs to God only. During the reign of the king of the dominion Sikandar Shāh, son of Bahlūl Shāh, the king, may God perpetuate his kingship and suzerainty.

(2) by the guidance of God, the Glorious, the slave of the divine threshold, Abā Bakr -Bām Jilwānī, who is one

¹ As Ādina is the Persian equivalent of Jum'a it is also obvious that the mosque was meant to be a congregational one for specially the Friday prayers.

² *Bibl. Ind. Ed.*, p. 122.

³ The area containing the tombs of Shāikh Jamālū'd Dīn Hānsavī, and three of his successors, for whom, see *Akhbaru'l Akhbar*, etc.

(3) of the disciples of the hand-grasping Preceptor, the Sultān of the Shaikhs, Shaikh Abū'l Fath,¹ may God bless his precious soul,

(4) at the foot of the grave of the Quṭb of all the quṭbs of the world, Shaikh Jamālu'l Haq wa'sh Shar' wa'd Dīn, may his dust be of pleasant odour and may

(5) Paradise be his abode, and may God illumine his tomb, at the time of accession to the saintly carpet² of our master, the Sultān of the Shaikhs,

(6) Shaikh Farīd, may God prolong his life, had this mosque erected. Let him who prays in this mosque remember him

(7) by praying for his faith. The writer of these words is Raḡī Quṭb,³ deputy qāḍī of Hansi and the agent of the police prefect of⁴ a slaveling of the Eternal Monarch.

(8) The 25th of the month of Rajab of exalted rank, in the year eight hundred and ninety-six (3 June 1491 A.D.). The stone-carver (is) Ladhān (?), son of Jalāl of Nāgaur.

It may be interesting to note that Jilwānī was the name of an Afghān tribe several members of which, such as 'Alāu'd Dīn and Babban Jilwānī, figure prominently in the history of the Lūḍī kings of Delhi. Firishṭa, as a matter of fact, mentions one Abā Bakr who was a relation of Muḥammad Khān Nāgorī, the governor of Chanderī under Sultān Sikander Lūḍī, who along with his brother 'Alī Khān, fled to the royal court and was appointed governor of Meopur in the year 922 A.H., just a year before the Sultān's death. The surname Jilwānī, however, is not added to his name by Firishṭa.⁵ Another noteworthy fact which emerges from this inscription is that the stone-carver was not always the scribe of an inscription, but it was usually composed by some scholar, written calligraphically by a scribe, and finally carved by a mason. In many cases, however, the last two functions were combined by the same person.

The next inscription from Hansi belonging to the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lūḍī has been found on the north-west corner inside the Barsi gate. It commemorates the building of a gate along with repairs to the 'Alā'i ḥiṣn (fortress or rampart) and is in a beautiful Nasḥ-cum-Kūfī script. It is dated 928 A.H., and measures 20" × 15", containing altogether five lines.

TEXT

Plate II (a)

- (۱) بناء عمارت این دروازه متین علوی با مرمت حصن حصین علانی
 (۲) که مؤرخست سنه اثنی و سبعمایه در عهد سلطان السلاطین ابو النظفر
 (۳) ابراهیم شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و در عمل مسند عالی حمید خان بن
 (۴) مهابتخان کمال و در شقداری خواجه فتح محمد و بفرمایش آصف ابن ؟ کمال
 (۵) بختیار فی الخامس من شهر ذی القعدة سنه ثمان [ع] شرین قسعمایه کاتب خلیل الله
 نصیر مفتی هانسوی

¹ Probably Abū'l Fath Jaunpūrī, d. 858 A.H.

² *Sajjāda* (prayer-carpet) which together with the *ḥirqa* (mantle) was an emblem of saintly authority inherited by a disciple from his master.

³ He would appear from his name to be a descendent of Shaikh Jamālu'd Dīn Hānswī.

⁴ The name here reads like *Dharmān* or *Dahrmān*, but the reading is doubtful.

⁵ *Opp. cit.*, p. 185.

(a) From the n.w. corner inside Barsi Gate, Hansi



Scale : .25

(b) On the western wall of the tomb of Shah Muhammad
Jamil Shahid, Hansi



Scale : .2

TRANSLATION

(1) The foundation of the building of this strong and lofty gate (was laid) together with repairs to the well-protected 'Alā'i fortress,

(2) which is dated 702 A.H., during the reign of the Sultān of Sultāns, the victorious King

(3) Ibrāhīm Shāh Sultān, may God perpetuate his kingdom and suzerainty! and during the governorship of Masnad-i-'Alī Hamīd Khān,¹ son of

(4) Mahābat Khān Kamāl and in the *shiqdārī*² of Khwāja Faṭḥ Muḥammad at the instance of Āṣaf, son of Kamāl

(5) Bakhtiyār, on the 5th of Dhu'l Qa'da in the year nine hundred and twenty-eight (25 Sept. 1522 A.D.). The writer of these words (is) Khalīlu'llāh Naṣīr Muftī Hānsī.

The next inscription in order, from Hansi, found on the western wall of the tomb of Shāh Muḥammad Jamāl Shāhīd situated in Muḥalla Muḡhalpūra is in Persian and belongs to the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān. Measuring about 13" by 24", it consists of nine lines written in a characterless *Nasḥ* script, and judging from the estampage at my disposal, several letters have lost their sharpness of outline and are not easily legible, due probably to the corrosive action of the weather. It runs as follows :—

TEXT

Plate II (b)

(۱) بعنايت الهی.....

(۲) در دولت خدا داد سلطان السلاطين

(۳) ابوالعزفر شهاب الدين محمد صاحب

(۴) قران ثانی شاه جهان پادشاه غازی

(۵) خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه

(۶) و بانی این چاه(?).....

(۷)

(۸) بتاريخ هفتم ماه شعبان المعظم

(۹) سنه تسع و خمسين و الف

TRANSLATION

(1) By the grace of God

(2) In the benign reign of the Sultān of Sultāns,

(3) Abū'l Muẓaffar Shihābu'd Dīn Muḥammad, Šāhib-i-

(4) Qirān the Second,³ Shāh Jahān Bādashāh-i-Ghāzī,

¹ Masnad-i-'Alī was a common title for ministers and other high state officials in the Lodi period. Hamīd Khān was still in charge of the H/sar District when Bābur invaded India, for he was sent out to meet the latter and was defeated by Humāyūn. Firishṭa, *opp. cit.*, p. 204.

² A *shiqdār* was a petty administrator in charge of a *pergana*.

³ 'He of the Auspicious Conjunction'. The first *Šāhib-i-qirān* was Anūr Tīmūr.

- (5) may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty,
 (6) and the builder of this well (?).
 (7)
 (8) On the 7th day of the exalted month of Sha'bān
 (9) in the year 1059 A.H. (6 Aug. 1649 A.D.).

It is unfortunate that the lines Nos. 6 and 7, are too indistinct to be properly deciphered, and so it is difficult to ascertain the name of the builder of the well. It is clear that the inscription in the case of the inscription from Batala (see page 10), actually commemorates some other construction and was later on affixed to the tomb. Its calligraphy is in marked contrast with that of the inscription mentioned above and indicates a general decline of the art as far as the *Naskh* script is concerned.

The last inscription from Hansi is in Persian verse and belongs to the Mughul period. It is found over the central *mihrāb* of the Jūlāhon kī masjid and measures 1' by 1½'. It is in *Nasta'liq* script and runs as follows :—

TEXT

Plate III (a)

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 (۲) بصدق دل نموده شیخ من [جهو]^۱
 (۳) بنائی مسجدی از روی تدقیق
 (۴) چو جستم سال تادریغ بنایش
 (۵) خرد گفتا که بیت الله بتحقیق
 (۶) در عهد ابوالمظفر محی الدین محمد اورنگ زیب عالمگیر بادشاه غازی فی سنه ۱۰۹۸
 یکهزار و نود و هشت راقمه عبد الرسول ولد.....^۲

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of God the Merciful, the Beneficent.
 (2) With a sincere heart, Shaikh Manjhū laid
 (3) the foundation of a mosque in a beautiful and finely decorative style.
 (4) When I sought the date of its building,
 (5) Wisdom said : veritably, (it is) the House of God.
 (6) In the reign of Abū'l Muẓaffar Muhyi'd Dīn Muḥammad Aurangzib ^۲Ālanqīr Bādshāh Ghāzī in the year 1098, one thousand and ninety and eight. The writer of this is 'Abdu'l Rasūl, son of.....

^۱ The rubbing has only ل:; the name has been completed by conjecture.

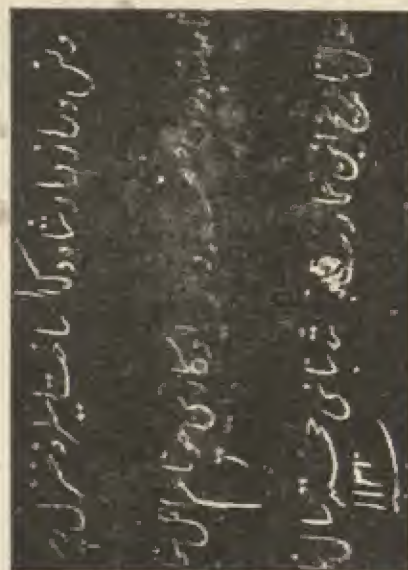
^۲ The name is missing in the stampage.

(a) Over the central mihrāb, Jūlāhōn ki Masjid, Hanai



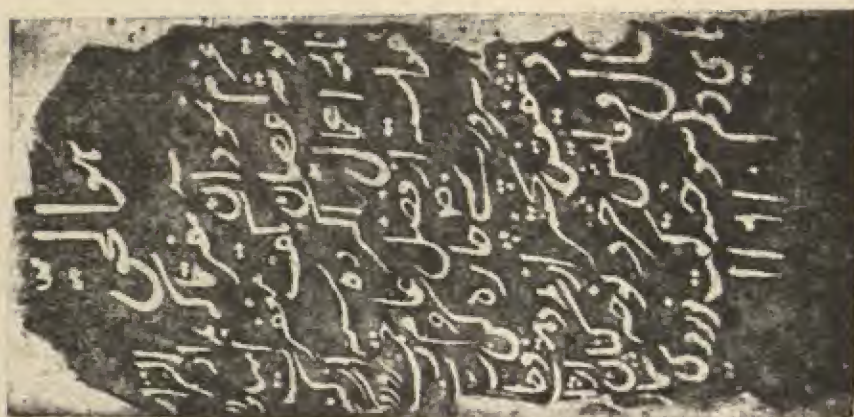
Scale : 24

(b) From the tomb of Rahmat 'Alī Shāh, Kangra



Scale : 14

(c) Found near the Police thana, Kotla, Dt. Kangra



Scale : 16

INSCRIPTION FROM KANGRA

This inscription, in an elegant *Nasta'liq* hand, found on the tomb of Raḥmat 'Alī Shāh in Kangra town, measures 2' by 1½' and comprises three Persian couplets. It is dated 1131 A.H., and is as follows :—

TEXT

Plate III (b)

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------|------------------------|
| (۱) | موس و رازدار شاه و گدا | ساخت اینطرفه منزل زیبا |
| (۲) | تا بماند بروی صفحه دهر | یادگاری چو نام اهل سخا |
| (۳) | سال تاریخ این عمارت نو | شد بنائی خجسته سال بنا |
- سنه ۱۱۳۱

TRANSLATION

(1) The companion and close associate of the king and the beggar built this novel and beautiful abode,

(2) so that it may endure on the surface of the earth as a memorial even like the name of a generous person.

(3) The date of the erection of this new building was found to be : The year of foundation is *Binā-i-Khujista* (auspicious building). Year 1131.

The words بنائی خجسته supply the chronogram which, on calculation, yields the date 1131 A.H. (1718-19 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION FROM KOTLA, DISTRICT KANGRA

The following inscription consists of four Persian couplets written in crude *Nasta'liq* script, and was found near the police *thāna* in Kotla. It was apparently affixed to some tomb and commemorates the year of a certain person's death who is mentioned only as "that Safir" (envoy).¹ As in the previous case the date is contained in a chronogram. The inscriptional slab measures about 1' 3" by 2' 10".

TEXT

Plate III (c)

- | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|
| (۱) | هو الحق |
| (۲) | عزم خود آن سفیر تا که بدار القرار |
| (۳) | توشه عصیان بکف مغفرت امیدوار |
| (۴) | نامه اعمال را کرده سید از گنه |
| (۵) | خواسته از فضل عام رحمت پروردگار |
| (۶) | سید سرور نبی چاره کن سیات |

¹ This of course is the usual sense of the word *safir* but it might have been used in the inscription in the sense of *muṣāfir* (traveller).

- (۷) باد شفیعش بحشر از مدد هشت و چار
 (۸) سال وفاتش خرد نوحه کنان از الم
 (۹) های دلم سوخته گفت ز روی شمار

۱۱۶۱

TRANSLATION

- (1) God is the Truth.
 (2) Since that envoy (or traveller) has resolved to betake himself to the Eternal Abode,
 (3) the provision of disobedience in his hand, hoping for forgiveness,
 (4) having blackened the scroll of his deeds by his sins,
 (5) (and) seeking from common bounty the mercy of God,
 (6) may the noble Prophet, the redeemer of sins,
 (7) be his intercessor on the day of Resurrection with the help of the Eight and Four.¹
 (8) The year of his death, Wisdom, wailing with grief,
 (9) calculated to be: *Alas! my heart burns!* 1161 (A.H.=1747-48 A.D.).
 The numerical values of the letters in های دلم سوخته when added up give the date 1161.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM KAITHAL

The first of these, found on a tablet of grey stone fixed on the left side of the central *mihrāb* of *Shāh-Wilāyat's* mosque at Kaithal,² is in Persian verse and commemorates the building of an important fortress by Sultān 'Alāu'd Dīn *Khaljī* in the last part of the month of *Shā'bān*. The inscription, unfortunately is not complete and the line containing the date has completely disappeared, while a portion of the fourth line is also missing. It consists altogether of four lines and measures 3½' by 1½'. The script used is an elegant form of the *Nasikh* similar to that employed in this period, and each of the four lines contains four hemistiches.

It runs as follows:—

TEXT

Plate IV (a)

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (۱) | بعهد دولت شاه معظم | شهنشاه بنین و بنات آدم (sic.) |
| | علاء الدین و دنیا تاجداری | که مثلش نیست اندر دره باری |
| (۲) | محمد شاه سلطان السلاطین | که تا عالم بود شه باد آمین |
| | های دولتش پر باز بادا | سعادت دایش هراز بادا |

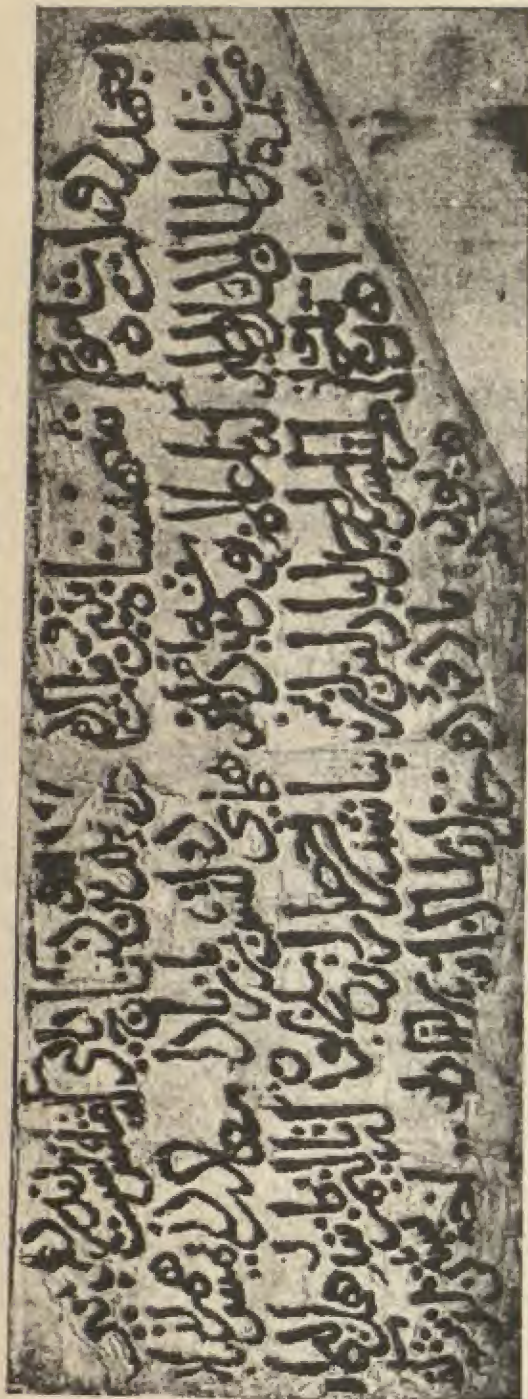
¹ The Eight and Four are the twelve Imāms. The tomb apparently was that of a Shi'a Muslim.

² The inscription evidently must have been removed from its original place and fixed in the mosque in later times as the mosque could not have been built by 'Alāu'd Dīn *Khaljī* nor can the word *biḡār* be properly applied to a mosque.

³ Thus in the original. The line does not scan properly.

⁴ The original has *پرباز*, but the word may also be read as *پرتاز*.

(a) On the left of the central mihrāb, Shāh Wilāyat's Mosque, Kaithal



Scale : -23

(b) On Miyan Tuiyih's Mosque, Kaithal



Scale : -2

- (۳) جزا و هرکس که خواهد تاج و انسر مر آنکس را جدا بادا تن از سر
 بنا شد این حصار از سلخ شعبان که تا این بماند اهل ایمان

 خدایا ساکنانش را نگه دار بقتل خویشان از تیغ کفار

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the exalted king, the Emperor of the sons and daughters of Adam, 'Alā-u'd Dīn wa'd Dunyā, a crowned monarch, the like of whom there is none in the whole world,

(2) Muḥammad Shāh the Sultān of Sultāns, who may remain king till the end of time, Amen! May the phoenix of his kingdom soar high (and) may good fortune ever be his close companion!

(3) Besides him whoever aspires to seize the throne and the crown, may that one's head be severed from his body. This fortress was built on the last day of Sha'bān, so that the believers might rest in safety.

(4) O God! Guard its dwellers from destroying themselves by the sword of the infidels.

The other inscription from Kaithal, in Persian verse, belongs to the reign of the Mughul Emperor Muḥammad Shāh. It measures approximately 24" by 15" and consists of three couplets separated from each other by two thick, dividing lines while a third line running at right angles to these two separates the lines (*miḡrā's*) of the three couplets. The whole inscription is thus divided into six sections, each containing one line. It appears on a mosque at Kaithal, known as Miyān Taiyib's mosque.

It runs as follows:—

TEXT

Plate IV (b)

- (۱) میان طیب بکیتل مسجدی ساخت که [ن]اید کار خیر از غیر طیب
 (۲) ز دازی سال تعمیرش چو پرسید برمزش گفت و ایما خیر طیب
 (۳) نام طیب سه حرف دان چون گنج هر یکی در حساب پنجه و پنج

TRANSLATION

(1) Miyān Taiyib constructed a mosque at Kaithal, for, a virtuous act cannot come from one who is not *taiyib* (pure).

(2) When (some one) asked in confidence about the date of its construction, the virtuous Taiyib said to him by way of allegory and allusion:

(3) Consider the name Taiyib to be of three letters like the word *ganj* (treasure), each one of which has to be counted fifty-five (times).

¹ Mostly illegible except for a few words.

* The letter before دازی is indistinct. It may possibly be د instead of ز and درازی in that case may be the pen-name of the poet who composed the chronogram. If so, the translation, of course, will be: when Darīzā wanted to know the year, etc

Now the three letters of the name *Taiyib* (ط - ي - ب) have the total numerical value 21, which when multiplied by 55, gives the date of the construction of the building, i.e., 1155 A.H. (1742-43 A.D.). It will be noticed that the first two couplets have the same metre¹ and rhyme, while the third has an altogether different metre.² The writing, as in the case of the inscription of *Shāh Jahān* from *Hansi*, is in a crude *Nasikh* style.

INSCRIPTION FROM BATALA

This inscription, the last of the group, appears on the tomb of *Shamshir Khān* at *Batala*, a well-known town in the district of *Gurdaspur*. *Batala* lies in 30°49' N and 75°12' E, on the *Amritsar-Pathankot* railway line, 20 miles from *Gurdaspur*, and was founded during the reign of *Sulṭān Bahlūl Lūdī* by a *Bhatti Rajput*, *Rāi Rām Deo*, whence the name *Batala* (*Bhatti-āla* or *Bhatti-wāla*).³ The inscription, which is in Arabic, consists of three lines and measures about 24" by 15". It belongs to the reign of *Akbar* and runs thus :—

TEXT

Plate V (a)

- (١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي وَفَّقَ عَلَى بِنَاءِ الْحَوْضِ وَالْمَسْجِدِ وَالرَّوْحِ حَسْبَهُ
 اللَّهُ ابْتَدَأَ تَارِيخَ (كَذَا) ٢٥ شَهْرِ صَفَرٍ سَنَةِ ٩٩٧
- (٢) أَتَمَّاهُ ١٠ رَمَضَانَ سَنَةِ ٩٩٨ مِنْ هِجْرَةِ النَّبِيِّ فِي خِلَافَةِ إِمَامِ الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ
 أَبُو الْفَتْحِ جَلَالُ الدِّينِ مُحَمَّدُ الْكَبِيرُ بَادِشَاهُ غَازِي
- (٣) بَانِيهَا الرَّاجِي إِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ الْمَنَانِ أضعف العباد شمشير خان بن دستگیر خان راجپوت
 ساکن پرگنه..... من سرکار مانیکپور عفی عنه و غفرت ذنوبه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Praise be to God who made possible the construction of this tank and mosque and garden for the sake of Divine pleasure. It was commenced on the 25th of the month of *Ṣafar* in the year 997 A.H. (3 Jan. 1589 A.D.)

(2) and completed on the 10th of *Ramaḍān* in the year 998 of the migration of the Prophet (3rd July 1590) during the caliphate of the *Imām* of *Islām* and the Muslims, *Abū'l Faṭḥ Jalālu'd Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī*.

(3) The builder thereof (is) one who hopes for the mercy of God, the Benevolent, the weakest of (His) creatures *Shamshir Khān*, son of *Dastagīr Khān Rājput*, living in the *pargana* of *sarkār Mānikpūr*, may God forgive him and cover up his sins.

This inscription is remarkable in several respects. It has been written in a beautifully elegant *Nasikh* script and the scribe has tried to fill up the entire space at his disposal as closely as possible, so that it has become difficult to follow the right sequence of the words in the epigraph. In the second and the third lines especially, the words have been written so close together and woven into such intricate patterns that the whole inscription has become a sort of puzzle which it is not so

¹ A form of the *hazaj*.

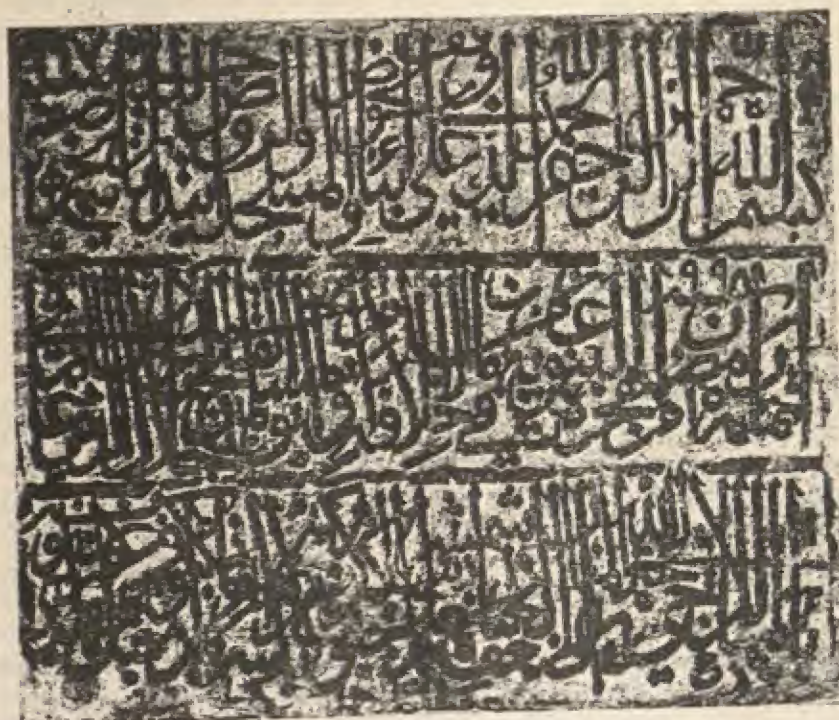
² A form of the *khaṭf*.

³ *Imp. Gaz. of India*, 1908, VII, p.133.

⁴ There is a word placed just above this which is not legible.

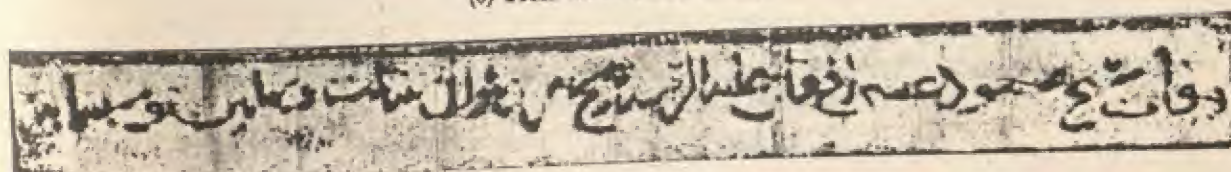
⁵ The reading is doubtful.

(a) From the tomb of Shamshir Khān, Batala



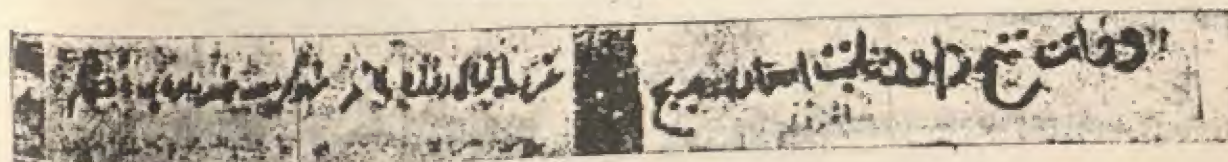
Scale : .3

(b) From the Pirastān, Etamda



Scale : .15

(c) From the same place, Etamda



Scale : .15

easy to solve. That is why, inspite of repeated attempts, I have not been able to decipher successfully a portion of the third line,¹ (which contains the name of the *pargana*), and have left out the portion in the transcription given above. The more important part, however, of the inscription has been satisfactorily read, and it points to a very interesting fact, namely that the inscription was not written originally for the tomb on which it appears now. It commemorates on the other hand the construction of a tank, a mosque, and a garden by Shamshir Khān who lies buried in the tomb bearing the inscription. Where was it originally fixed? Perhaps on the mosque itself beside which was dug the tank, or possibly on one of the gates of the garden which surrounded the mosque and which has now disappeared along with it.² Then, long after the death of Shamshir Khān some loving and thoughtful hand must have removed it from its original place among the ruins of the mosque and the garden, and placed it on the tomb which was erected on his mortal remains, so that the memory of his life's work might live in his death.

Another interesting question raised up by the inscription is: who was Shamshir Khān? According to the *Imperial Gazetteer*, he was a foster-brother of Akbar and was granted the fief of Batala by the Emperor. He is further said to have improved and beautified the town and to have constructed outside it a magnificent tank still in perfect condition. But strangely enough Shamshir Khān's name is not mentioned in the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, either in the list of Akbar's *manṣabdārs* or among the children of his two well known foster-mothers, Māham Anaga and Jijī, although presumably he must have held a *manṣab*. The name also is not mentioned by Firishṭa or Azād in his *Darbār-i-Akbarī* and I have not been able to find the authority for the statement in the *Imperial Gazetteer*. It is, nevertheless, clear from the inscription that Shamshir Khān must have been a person of some consequence in Akbar's time, which is further proved by the building of a tomb for him which is described in the *Gazetteer* as 'massive'³ and which together with the tank, has survived the ravages of time, and forms one of the three historical monuments⁴ of Batala. Akbar is said to have had several foster-mothers and it is quite likely that Shamshir Khān was the son of one of them, not so well known as the two mentioned above. The inscription, of course, does not give us the date of Shamshir Khān's death, but it proves conclusively that he was the builder of the tank which still keeps his memory alive and bears eloquent testimony to his able administration of the fief held by him.⁵

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TUGHLUQ PERIOD FROM THE VILLAGE OF ETAMDA IN BHARATPUR DISTRICT

BY Y. K. BUKHARI

A few years back the curator, State Museum, Bharatpur, furnished information to me about the existence of five inscriptions in Persian and Arabic in the village of Etamda, taluk Vair, District Bharatpur, Rajasthan. I brought the same to the notice of the then Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions, who desired me to visit the place and prepare estampages of the aforesaid epigraphs. I, accordingly, complied with his instructions and collected inked rubbings of five epigraphs from the village out of which four are being studied in this paper.

¹ This has been partially due to the rubbing at my disposal having become faint and indistinct in this particular portion.

² No mention is made in the *Imperial Gaz. of India* of any mosque near the tank.

³ *Imp. Gaz.*, loc. cit.

⁴ I.e., the tomb and tank of Shamshir Khān, and Anār Kaḥ, a building erected by Shir Singh, the son of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh who held the fief of Batala under his father (*Imp. Gaz.*, loc. cit.).

⁵ Nāḥāwandī in his *Moṣṭṭḥir-i-Raḥīmī*, I, p. 861 mentions one Shamshir Khān Khojāsārā who was placed in charge of the Khāḥī lands in Bihar in the year 986 A.H., but apparently he was a different man.

The village of Etamda lies at a distance of two miles north from the Police station, Bhusawar. On a mound, called *Pīrastān* by the local residents, in the village, are two tombs of unpretentious nature in dilapidated condition. The enclosures of the tombs have reduced to the level ground but traces of the walls are still visible. The local people assign the occupation of the tombs to certain *pīrs* (or saints) who flourished in the mediaeval times and hence call the place as *Pīrastān* (seat of saints). The occupants of the tombs are held in great reverence by the inhabitants of the village consisting of Faqirs, Gujars, Dhakars, Banyas, Telis and other communities. Both Hindus and Muslims alike perform certain ceremonies and dance around the tombs on the occasions of marriage and birth.

There are two inscribed slabs of red sandstone fixed side by side in the ground (not in their original positions), standing vertically a few yards away from the ruined tombs. I had to unearth the covered portion of the inscriptions nearly two feet deep. The third slab of red sandstone nearly of the same size is lying loose just beside the above epigraphs. It is in Persian interspersed with the traditions and verses from the Holy Quran. The epigraph is much worn out and exposed to the inclemency of weather. There are two more epitaphs carved on tombstones about fifteen yards away southward from the tombs, recording the death of their respective occupants. The tombstones were lying half buried in the ground detached from their right place. I removed and washed the dust and lime of the stone slab to render the epigraphs intelligible.

The first three inscriptions refer to the sad demise of Shaikh Mas'ūd 'Isā Afghān while the fourth one records the death of Shaikh Dā'ūd Thābit Afghān.

A unique style has been adopted in these inscriptions. Ordinarily they do not give Persian translation of the Quranic verses or traditions of the Prophet, but here they have supplied it and the same has helped me decipher the blurred portions of the Arabic text. The traditions quoted in the inscriptions are very unusual as only one could be traced in two authoritative books of the traditions referred to *infra*. Names of rulers and builders of the tombs are not mentioned in the epigraphs.

The personages referred to in the epigraphs are not traceable in the historical works and hagiographies. It appears that the saints might have come from Afghānistān and settled there as is clear from the word Afghān suffixed to their names. Probably, they were learned theologians and saints, flourishing during the Tughluq period.

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

The inscriptional slab is fixed in the ground, a few yards away from the ruined tomb, on a terrace. The stone slab is in a vertical position and measures 1'9" × 4'8". It consists of twenty inscribed lines of Persian prose interspersed with religious texts. At the foot of the inscription there are two unscripted medallions on either side and an arch-shaped inscribed panel in the middle, containing the name and the date of the death of one Shaikh Mas'ūd 'Isā in the year 783 A.H. (1381 A.D.). It appears that the slab was originally fixed to the grave and it was subsequently removed to its present position. The script is *Nasikh* of inartistic merit carved in relief. It is too much damaged but I have tried to read the inscription on the stone which bears faint traces of some of the words that have peeled off.

The religious text given in the inscription sheds light on the instability of the world and enjoins on us to refrain from indulging in worldly pleasures as life is but a passing phase and one has to account for one's actions overt and covert before the Omniscient.

Handwritten text in the top left column, likely a list or account of items.

Handwritten text in the bottom left column, continuing the list or account.

Handwritten text in the top right column, likely a list or account of items.

Handwritten text in the middle right column, continuing the list or account.

Handwritten text in the bottom right column, possibly a signature or concluding remarks.

The historical portion of the epigraph occurs in the arched panel below the religious text. It mentions neither the name of the ruler nor that of the builder of the tomb. The occupant of the tomb was probably a *ḡufī* of his age and seems to have held important social status in the Tughluq period. I read the inscription as follows:—

TEXT

Plate VI (a)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ الَّذِي خَلَقَ الْمَوْتَ
- (۲) وَالْحَيَاةَ عَالِيَّ اسْتِ آنِ خُداوند که بیافرید مرگ و زندگانی
- (۳) را چه حکمت بود که مرگ را مقدم بآن کرد حکمت این بود
- (۴) منقض گردد بر بندگان آنچه ایشان دوست دارند
- (۵) قوله تعالى انما الحیوة الدنیا لعب و لهو معنی آیت
- (۶) زندگانی دنیا بازیست چون بازی کودکان که کودکان از
- (۷) خانه بیرون آیند بر اسپان چوبیس سوار شوند خانها
- (۸) از خاک کنند ساعتی دران بخوشی مشغول شوند چون
- (۹) ساعتی بگذرد ترک آن خانها شادبها گیرند [و] پراکنده شوند
- (۱۰) قَالَ النَّبِيُّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ سَدُّ السَّفِينَةِ فَاَنْ الْبَحْرَ عَمِيقٌ
- (۱۱) عَمِيقٌ وَ اَحْمَلُ الزَّادِ فَاَنْ الطَّرِيقَ بَعِيدٌ بَعِيدٌ
- (۱۲) فَاَخْلَصَ الْعَمَلُ فَاَنْ النَّاقِدُ بَصِيرٌ بَصِيرٌ بَادِرٌ عَجَلًا [لَمَوْا]
- (۱۳) فَاَنْ [الْعَمْرُ] قَصِيرٌ قَصِيرٌ مَعْنَى سَخْتُ بَنْدِيدِ كَشْتِ
- (۱۴) را که دریا غرقابست غرقاب و توشه بر
- (۱۵) دارید که راه دورست دور و کردارها
- (۱۶) نیکو کنید که سره کفنده بیناست بینا و بشتابید
- (۱۷) به سوی توبه که عمر کوتاه است کوتاه [حدیث]
- (۱۸) بِتَرْجُمَةِ تَدْ كَفْتُ صَلَوَاتِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ مَكْنِ صَحْبَتِ بِا هَرِ كِه
- (۱۹) خواهی آخر از وی جدا شوی.....
- (۲۰) که خواهی آخر بمیری

^۱ The word 'العمر' is omitted in the epigraph.

In the arch-shaped panel at the base.

یادگار
بنده امیدوار
شیخ مسعود عیسی
شہور سندہ ٹلٹ و ثمانین
و سیمایہ

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate Who has created death
(2) and life. Sublime is the Master Who has created death and life.
(3-4) The philosophy in mentioning 'Death' before 'Life' was to imbibe in His servants
an aversion to everything they hold dear to them.
(5) The Most High Allāh says : The worldly life is a game full of attraction. The meaning
of the verse (is) :
(6) The worldly life is a game, like the game of children. Children come out
(7) of their homes, ride on the horses of staffs, make
(8) toy-houses of clay and enjoy the fun for a while.
(9) As the period of their enjoyment comes to an end, they demolish the fabrics and pick up
handfuls of dust and disperse.
(10) The Prophet, peace be on him, has said : Hold your boats firmly as the sea is very very
deep ;
(11) and carry with you (sufficient) provisions as the journey is very very long ,
(12) make your actions righteous as the tester is omniscient ; be quick
(13) in your repentance as [life is] very very short.
(14-17) (Translation of the tradition into Persian).¹ [The tradition]
(18) has been translated : (The Prophet), peace be on him, has said : Do not associate with
every one
(19) dear to thee as eventually thou art to pass away and
(20) which thou wantest, at last thou shalt die.

In the arch-shaped panel at the base.

Memorial of the hopeful slave Shāikh Mas'ūd 'Isā, Shahūr San seven hundred and eighty-three
(783 A.H.=1381 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

Carved on a slab of red sandstone, this epigraph is placed vertically beside the above inscription. It is purely of religious nature and consists of thirty four lines altogether. Of them, the first fifteen are in Arabic and Persian prose, the next sixteen in Persian verse and the last three again in Persian

¹ These lines constitute Persian translation of the Tradition, which has been already translated in II. 10-13.

prose. They teach us that the world and its charms are all transitory and that one must not look upon the world as his home. The composition of Persian verse is defective inasmuch as most of the couplets do not rhyme properly. The inscription is undated, but the name of the occupant of the grave Mas'ūd ('Isā) is given, who is the same person as referred to in the above inscription (No. 1), and this shows that this epigraph ending in the word تمت (or completed) supplements the above beginning with بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. The script is *Naskh* of an ordinary type and reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate VI (b)

- (۱) قال النبی علیه السلام ان العبد المیت یوضع فی القبر
- (۲) و افعل قال یقول اهلہ و اسیداه و شریفاه و امیراه
- (۳) قال یقول له الملك اسم[ح] ما یقولون انت كنت سیدا و
- (۴) انت كنت امیرا و انت شریفا قال یقول المیت یا لیتهم
- (۵) لم یكونو معنی حدیث چون بنده میرد و او را در گور
- (۶) نهند پس زن و فرزند و دوستان برآی او نوحه کنند
- (۷) گویند که تو (؟) امیر و عزیز و معروف ما بودی پس فرشته با
- (۸) مرده گوید که تو در دنیا بزرگ و امیر و معروف[ف] بودی مرده
- (۹) بگوید کاشکه من هیچ نبود[می] در دنیا زیرا که بروی مصعب
- (۱۰) وقتست قال النبی علیه السلام کن فی الدنیا [کانک] غریب او کعابر
- (۱۱) سیل و عد نفسک من اصحاب القبور پیغامبر گفت در دنیا
- (۱۲) بودم همچون غریب و راه گذاری و پنداشتم نفس خود را
- (۱۳) از جمله یاران گورستان و این حدیث میان امت قسمت است
- (۱۴) اهل شریعت خود را از غریبان دانند و اهل طریقت خود را
- (۱۵) از راه گذاری دانند و اهل حقیقت خود را از مردگان شمرند
- (۱۶) باتوست آشنائی با من مکن جدائی
- (۱۷) از کرم خود خدائی فریادرس الها
- (۱۸) دل شکسته دارم زان که گناه گارم
- (۱۹) برحمت امید دارم فریادرس الها
- (۲۰) حمد ترا خوانم بسی آب دیده را نم
- (۲۱) غفار ترا دالم فریادرس الها

- (۲۲) رفیق کسی ندادم نیست مرا قدام
- (۲۳) بتو امید دارم فریادرس الها
- (۲۴) [۱] ینجا کسی لیاید مرا رحمت تو باید
- (۲۵) بفغاری تو شاید فریادرس الها
- (۲۶) مسکین مسعود مرده [۱] است بتاریک گور خفته است
- (۲۷) توکل بر تو کرده است فریادرس الها
- (۲۸) ای پاک سبحانی جاوید ملک دانی
- (۲۹) برحمت مرا بخوانی فریادرس الها
- (۳۰) سری که دارم با تو کس نداند جز تو
- (۳۱) کاری ست مرا با تو فریادرس الها
- (۳۲) خواجه امام گفت علیه الرحمہ بہشت شناس بطاعت
- (۳۳) کاهلی نکند و دوزخ شناس بگناہ دلیری نکند و خدا
- (۳۴) شناس بکسی طمع نکند و مرگ شناس بدنیا غرہ نشود تمت

TRANSLATION

- (1) The Prophet, peace be on him, has said : When a servant dies and is laid in a grave,
 (2) his wife laments over him and says, 'Thou hadst been a noble and great man well known to us';
 (3) thereupon the angel says to the dead, 'Hear what they say. Thou hadst been a man, great,
 (4) noble and well known (in the world)'. The deadman says, 'Would that
 (5) I were nothing'.¹ Meaning of the tradition : When a servant dies and he is interred in a grave,
 (6) his wife, sons and friends weep over him
 (7) saying, 'Thou hadst been a nobleman and greatman well known to us'. Thereupon the angel
 (8) says to the dead man, 'Thou hadst been a great and noble man well known in the world'. The deadman
 (9) replies, 'Would that I were nothing in the world', because he has a difficult
 (10) time. The Prophet, peace be on him, has said : Be in the world like a stranger or wayfarer
 (11) and firmly believe that you are one of the occupants of the graves.² The Prophet said :
 (12) I had been in the world like a stranger and a wayfarer and considered myself to be

¹ This tradition of the Prophet is in Arabic. Its translation in Persian as given in the epigraph follows it.

² This is another tradition of the Prophet. Its translation in Persian as given in the epigraph follows immediately (cf. *Jāmi'u'l-Buddari*, Kitābu'r-Riqāq, chap. 3; *Tirmidhi Sharif*, chap. on 'piety').

(13) one of the occupants of the graves. This tradition has been variously interpreted by the followers (of the Prophet) :

- (14) The followers of Islamic code consider themselves to be strangers, the gnostics,
- (15) wayfarers and the realists, dead bodies.
- (16) With Thee I am closely associated ; do not forsake me.
- (17) By Thy grace, respond to (my) entreaties, O God !
- (18) I have a broken heart because I am a sinner ;
- (19) (but) I am hopeful of Thy mercy ; respond to (my) entreaties, O God !
- (20) I sing praises to Thee, shed tears profusely ;
- (21) I look upon Thee as the Forgiver, (so) respond to my entreaties, O God !
- (22) I have no friend, no peace of mind ;
- (23) to Thee I look up, respond to my entreaties, O God !
- (24) Here nobody comes (to help), I need Thy mercy ;
- (25) it behoves Thy Forgiving self to respond to (my) entreaties, O God !
- (26) Poor Mas'ūd is dead, asleep in his dark grave ;
- (27) he has confided in Thee, (so) respond to (his) entreaties, O God !
- (28) O Thou Holy (and) Praiseworthy, Thy sovereignty is eternal ;
- (29) call me in mercifully (and) respond to (my) entreaties, O God !
- (30) The secrets which I have, are not known to any one but Thee ;
- (31) I look up to Thee (alone), (so) respond to (my) entreaties, O God !
- (32) Khwāja Imām, mercy be on him, said : He who is convinced of Paradise is not slack in his devotion ;
- (33) and he who is convinced of Hell is not bold to commit sins ;
- (34) and he who is convinced of God never desires any thing ; and he who is convinced of Death is not deceived by (the charms of) the world.

INSCRIPTION NO. 3

This epigraph is inscribed on one side of the tombstone which is lying half buried in slanting position away from the tomb-terrace at a distance of about 14 yards to the south. The inscribed portion is above the ground carved on either side of the cenotaph. On the southern facet is inscribed the first Muslim creed followed by the words اللهم اغفر لي بعد الموت (O Allāh ! forgive me after death). The chronological portion of the epigraph facing north is in one line only, executed in Naskh style, recording the death of Shaiikh Mas'ūd 'Isā Afghān on the first of Shawwāl in the year 783 A.H. (19th December 1381 A.D.). The inscription reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate V (b)

وفات شيخ مسعود عيسى اتمان عليه الرحمة بتاريخ غره شوال سنة ثلث و ثمانين و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

Death of Shaiikh Mas'ūd 'Isā Afghān, mercy be upon him, took place on the 1st of Shawwāl, year 783 (A.H.=19th December 1381 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 4

This inscription also is carved on a cenotaph of red sandstone close to the above mentioned one. On one side of the cenotaph are inscribed the first creed (كلمه) of Muslims and the same words اللهم اغفرلى بعد الموت (O Allāh ! forgive me after death) as in the previous one, while on the other side is an epigraph in one line recording the death of Shaikh Dā'ūd Thābit Afghān on the 1st of Shawwāl Shahūr San 745 A.H. (1345 A.D.). The script is Naskhī of a crude type and the inscriptional slab measures 3'5" × 5". I have read the text as under :—

TEXT

Plate V (c)

وفات شيخ داؤد ثابت افغان [تادار] يخ غره ماه شوال روز شنبه شهر سنه خمس و اربعين
و سبعمائده

TRANSLATION

Death of Shaikh Dā'ūd Thābit Afghān took place on the 1st of the month of Shawwāl, Saturday, Shahūr San 745 (A.H.=5th February 1345 A.D.).

FOUR UNPUBLISHED ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF SULTAN BARBAK SHAH OF BENGAL

By Y. K. BUKHARI

The Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions advised me to write an article on some pre-sixteenth century epigraphs of historical interest for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Arabic and Persian Supplement); accordingly, I selected some rubbings of the inscriptions from the province of Bengal, stored in our office, to comply with his suggestion. The estampages were prepared and collected long ago.

The inscriptions dealt with chronologically in this article ranging from the year 860 A.H. to 871 A.H. (1456 A.D. to 1466 A.D.), pertain to the time of Sultān Bārbak Shāh of Bengal and cover a period of about eleven years of his reign, first in the capacity of a governor, and then as an independent king. Written in Arabic prose, they are four in number belonging to Tribeni, District Hooghly, Bara, District Bīrbhum, Peril, District Dacca, and Gurai, District Mymensingh respectively. The style of writing is Naskhī of various types, excepting one executed in Tuzārā form in embossed letters. The text of the inscriptions begin with the usual verses from the Holy Quran and the traditions of the Holy Prophet in respect of construction of mosques as was the style in vogue in other Islamic countries. They assign construction of certain mosques to some high and elevated dignitaries and governors of the time.

It has been justly remarked that Bārbak Shāh's succession to his father's kingdom was undisputed and he had served with distinction as the viceroy of Satgaon.¹ Histories call him a sagacious and law-abiding sovereign.² The soldiers and civilians enjoyed happiness and safety of life in his reign. Firishṭa says that he had collected a large number of Abyssinian slaves and employed them in the army and in the palace. The king took them into confidence and consulted

¹ J. N. Sarker, *History of Bengal* vol. II, p. 132.

² *Riyāḍu's Salāṭīn*, p. 118; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, III, p. 267.

them for important and significant matters of the state.¹ He probably hoped thereby to create a special class of officers on whom the crown could rely for unstinted support. He is said to have possessed about eight thousand of such slaves and allowed them gradually to monopolise most of the key positions in the state.²

The military activities of Bārbak Shāh's reign are casually recorded in a treatise named *Risālatu'sh Shuhadā* (Treatise of Martyrs), a biographical sketch of Shāh Ismā'il Ghāzī—a saint of North Bengal, written by one Pir Muḥammad Shattāri in 1042 A.H. (1633 A.D.).³

Bārbak Shāh evinced keen interest in Bengali literature. He conferred the title of *Gunarāj Khān* on Maladhar Basu, a poet of eminence in Bengali literature who commenced his *Sri Krishna Bijai* in Śaka 1395 (1473 A.D.). The poet's son also received the title of *Satyarāj Khān*. The poet was a resident of Kulingram, District Burdwan, which might have been an integral part of the kingdom of Bārbak Shāh.⁴

Bārbak Shāh spent his life in comfort and ease. He is said to have died in 879 A.H. (1474 A.D.) and his reign lasted for seventeen or sixteen years.⁵ The author of the *Riyāḍu's Salāḥīn* quotes no authority about the authenticity of the period of Bārbak Shāh's reign. According to his statement, Bārbak Shāh died in 879 A.H. after a rule of seventeen or sixteen years and thus after calculation 862 A.H. or 863 A.H. falls as the first year of his reign. The same statement of the *Riyāḍu's Salāḥīn* regarding the period of Bārbak Shāh's reign is accepted by C. Stewart who chiefly bases his information on the *Riyāḍ* and inserts the same in his History.⁶

The statements of both the authors regarding the commencement of Bārbak's reign are erroneous and are contradicted by the epigraphical and numismatical evidences (vide inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh's reign dated 28th Dhī'l Ḥajjah, 863 A.H. or 26th October 1459 A.D.).⁷ Maḥmūd Shāh, the father of Bārbak Shāh was alive, thus, on the 28th Dhī'l Ḥajjah, 863 A.H. one or two days before the commencement of the next year i.e., 864 A.H., as supported by the inscription and leaves no doubt that Bārbak Shāh might have succeeded his father in 864 A.H. as is indicated by an earliest inscription of his reign (inscription no. 2). Also the earliest coins of Bārbak Shāh's reign discovered so far bear the date 864 A.H.⁸ The execution of Shāh Ismā'il Ghāzī on Friday, 14th Sha'bān 878 A.H. (4th Jan. 1473 A.D.) affords a clear proof of Bārbak's survival in that year and it draws one to the conclusion that he might have died next year in 879 A.H., as supposed by the *Riyāḍ*.⁹

Eight inscriptions of the time of Bārbak Shāh were published by Blochmann in the issues of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and one by Maulavi Shamsud Din Ahmad in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*. The earliest of them is dated 860 A.H., belonging to the period of Bārbak Shāh's governorship, while the subsequent ones are dated A.H. 865, 865, 863, 871, 876 (and one undated) in chronological sequence ascertaining a period of eleven years of his reign.¹⁰

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firištā*, II, p. 580.

² J. N. Sarkar, *opp. cit.*, p. 135.

³ G. D. Damant published the text of the treatise with an abridged translation in *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, pp. 216-239.

For a summary of some events of historical interest, see J. N. Sarkar, *opp. cit.*, pp. 133-34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 136.

⁵ *Riyāḍu's Salāḥīn*, Eng. trans. by M. Abdus Salam (Calcutta), p. 120; C. Stewart, *History of Bengal* (London, 1813), p. 101; *Tubaqāt-i-Akbarī*, (Eng. trans.), p. 435.

⁶ C. Stewart, *opp. cit.*, pp. 100-101.

⁷ *J. A. S. B.*, vol. XLII pt. I, 1873, p. 271; J. N. Sarkar, *opp. cit.*, p. 132.

⁸ *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. II, p. 167, coin nos. 135 & 148.

⁹ *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. II, p. 167, coin nos. 135 & 148. J. N. Sarkar, *opp. cit.*, states that inscriptions extend his reign to Ramaḍān 879/Jan. 1474, but does not mention any inscription.

¹⁰ *J. A. S. B.* vol. XXXIX part I, 1870, p. 290; vol. XLII part I, 1873, pp. 272, 309; vol. XLIII part I, 1874, pp. 295, 296; vol. XLIV, 1875, p. 291; *J. A. S. B.*, 1910, N. S. VI, p. 29; *E. I. M.* for 1935-36, p. 7.

The inscription from Tribeni dated 860 A.H., published by Blochmann records the title of 'Malik' prefixed to the name of Bārbak Shāh, but in his later epigraphs he is styled both as 'Malik' and 'Sultān'. Blochmann thinks that the inscription from Tribeni belongs to the period when, as prince, Bārbak Shāh was governor of South Western Bengal in 860 A.H., and styles him as 'Malik' (prince) and not 'Sultān' (king). His view is also supported by Professor van Perchem as he thinks that the title of 'Malik' does not mean 'King' as it is used to be translated from Arabic poets and historians, but 'prince, feudatory' and even, in some cases, 'high officer'.¹ I agree with Blochmann partially that the epigraph from Tribeni (if the reading of the date is correct) belongs to the pre-kingship period of Bārbak Shāh, but the use of the titles of 'Malik' for a prince and 'Sultān' for a king was not strictly followed as the later epigraphs of Bārbak Shāh bear both the titles while he was *de facto* ruler of Bengal.

Another noticeable feature of two of these inscriptions is the use of *kunya* 'Abū'l Muẓaffar' instead of the usual 'Abū'l Mujāhid'.² Blochmann supposes that the engraver is responsible for carving 'Abū'l Muẓaffar' in place of 'Abū'l Mujāhid' and further he refers to the old Persian dictionary known as *Sharaf Nāmah-i-Ibrāhīmī* which assigns the title of 'Abū'l Muẓaffar' to Bārbak Shāh. Blochmann argues that the title 'Abū'l Muẓaffar' mentioned in the Dictionary was meant for Bārbak Shāh of Jaunpur who ruled from 879 A.H. (the year when Bārbak Shāh of Bengal is said to have died) to 881 A.H.³ This supposition is baseless. The engraver of the inscription does not appear to be responsible for inserting the word 'Abū'l Muẓaffar' for 'Abū'l Mujāhid', for the fact that both the titles were used for Bārbak Shāh, is supported by epigraphical evidence (vide inscription nos. 2 and 4).

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

On a stone slab measuring 2'2" × 1'6" lying near the grave of Zafar Khān Ghāzī at Tribeni, District Hooghly (Bengal), is an inscription in Arabic prose, executed in *Naskhī* letters in relief. The text of the epigraph consists of four lines, of which the first line comprises a tradition of the Holy Prophet in respect of mosque construction and the rest record the erection of a mosque by the great Khān Ulugh Ajmal Khān during the governorship of Prince Bārbak Shāh of Bengal. The inscription is dated 860 A.H. (1455 A.D.). I have read the text as follows:—

TEXT

Plate VII (a)

(١) قال الله تعالى ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا بنى المسجد خان الاعظم

(٢) و خافان المعظم الغ اجمل خان سلمه الله تعالى في الدارين سرخيل خان معظم افراد

خان جامدار غير محل

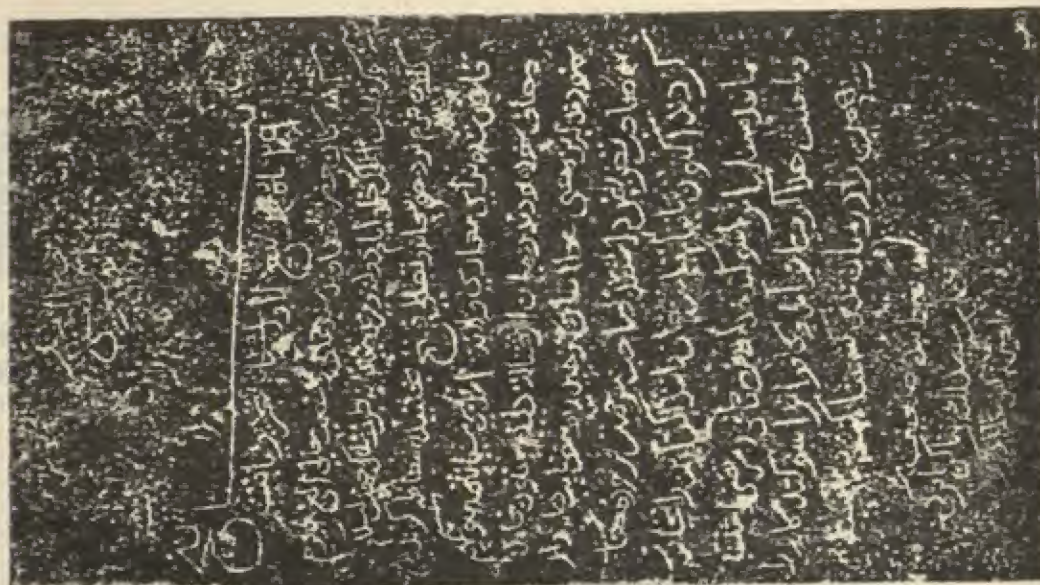
¹ E. J. M., 1913-14, p. 46.

² Except one all the inscriptions of Bārbak Shāh published so far contain 'Abū'l Mujāhid'.

³ J. A. S. B. vol. XLIII part I, 1874, p. 297.

⁴ This inscription has already been published without facsimile in the J. A. S. B. vol. XXXIX part I, 1870, p. 290, but I am including the same in this study with a view to publish its facsimile so that the readers may compare the text with facsimile. The date is not clear in the inscription. Blochmann's reading of the date as 860 A.H. is very much doubtful. I also agree with Horowitz who is doubtful about Blochmann's decipherment of the date (vide E. J. M., 1909-10, p. 130, no. 1237).

(b) On a slab set up near the Erukula house, Kondapalli



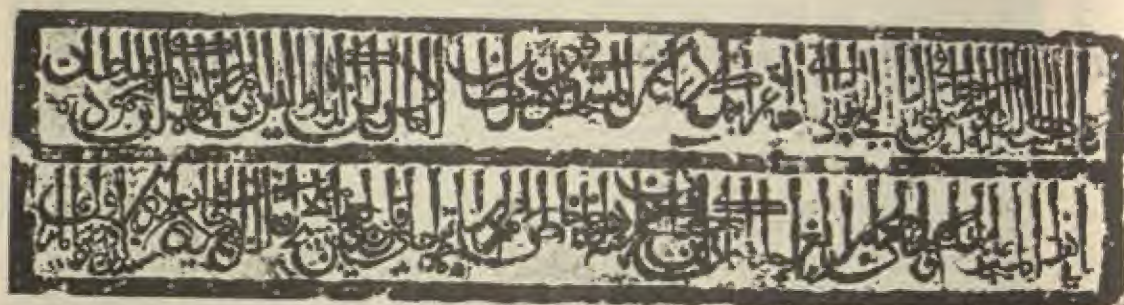
Scale : 18

(a) Lying near the grave of Zafar Khān Ghāzi, Tribeni, Ds. Hooghly



Scale : 2

(a) From Bara, Dt. Birbhum



Scale : 166

(b) On a tomb, Peril, Dt. Dacca



Scale : 23

(c) On a mosque, Gurai, Dt. Mymensingh



Scale : 16

(٣) و سر لشکر و وزیر عرصه ساجلا منکعباد و شهر لاوبلا دامت معاليه في العهد الملك
العادل البادل.

(٤) الفاضل الكامل باريك شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان في العادي من المحرم [ستين
و ثمانمائه]

TRANSLATION

(1) God, the Exalted, has said: Verily, the mosques are set apart unto God; therefore, invoke no one else with God.¹ This mosque was erected by the exalted Khān,

(2) the elevated noble, Ulugh Ajmal Khān, may God keep him safe in this world and hereafter—the commander of the army of the high nobleman Iqrār Khān, guard of the royal *harem*,

(3) commander and minister of the District of Sājlā Mankhabād and the town of Lao-bala—may his high qualities last for ever—in the governorship of the just, the liberal,

(4) the learned and the perfect king Bārbak Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, the Sulṭān. Dated the first Muharram [860] or 11th Dec. 1455 A.D.

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

This inscription comes from Bara, District Birbhum and is written in Arabic prose, executed in Naskh characters in relief. The record consists of two lines badly abraded in several places, assigning the construction of a mosque to certain Ulugh Ajlakā Khān, son of Bakhshish Khān during the reign of Bārbak Shāh and is dated 1st Jumādī I, 864 A. H. (23rd February 1460 A.D.). The inscriptional tablet is 3'6" × 11". The text is given below:—

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

(١) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا في الدنيا بنى الله تعالى في الجنة قصرا
بكل ذراع من المسجد بنى في عهد سلطان العادل دكن الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر باريكشاه ابن
محمود شاه سلطان

(٢) بالي هذا المسجد خان اعظم و خاقان معظم الغ اجلكا (٩) خان ابن بخشخان
سرگماشته قصبه دهاخا (٩) خالص لامام مولينا المشهور بقاضى ابن قاضى احمد ابن شيخ
علاول في التاريخ العادي من شهر جمادى الاول سنة اربع و ستين و ثمانمائه

TRANSLATION

The Prophet, peace and blessings of God be on him, has said: He who builds a mosque the earth, will have a palace built for him by God in Paradise for every cubit of the mosque.

¹ *Qur'ān*, LXXII, 18.

² This inscription is important as it represents the first regnal year of Sulṭān Bārbak Shāh and confirms the date 864 A. H. as the commencing year of his reign. The earliest epigraphs of Bārbak Shāh's independent rule noticed so far are dated 865 A. H.

This mosque was built during the reign of the just Sultān Ruknu'd-Dunyā wa'd Dīn Abū'l Muẓaffar Bārbak Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh Sultān

(2) by the great Khān and exalted Khāqān Ulugh Ajlakā (?) Khān, son of Bakhshish Khān, superintendent of the town of Dhākḥā, specially for Imām Maulānā, known as Qāḍī, son of Qāḍī Aḥmad, son of Shaikh 'Alāwal on the 1st Jumādī I, year 864 A. H. (23rd February 1460 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 3

An inscribed stone slab measuring 2'×11" is fixed on a tomb at Peril, Distt. Dacca in East Bengal, and contains one line mainly written in Arabic prose, executed in *Tughrā* style of an intricate type. The record is in good state of preservation and every word of it is clear though difficult in reading. A tradition of the Holy Prophet regarding the erection of mosque occurs in the beginning as usual and the rest of the record mentions the building of a mosque in 869 A.H. (1465 A.D.) by one Majlis Khurshīd during the reign of Bārbak Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, the Sultān of Bengal. The inscription of Bārbak Shāh from Hatkhola in the District of Sylhet published by Maulavi Shamsud Din Ahmad¹ is very much similar with the one under notice in many respects such as style, text and calligraphy. Both record the same *Ḥadīth*, the same titles of Bārbak Shāh and Majlis Khurshīd the builder of mosques, executed in *Tughrā* characters in relief. The only difference lies in date as the former published ere this bears 868 A. H., while the present one is dated 869 A. H. Another inscription of Khurshīd, dated 850 A. H., assigning the construction of a mosque in the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh resembles this in text but differs in calligraphy, being executed in *Ta'liq* style.² The name Ulugh Khurshīd is also recorded in another inscription of the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh of Bengal, indicating the erection of a mosque in 898 A. H.³ This mosque epigraph also bears a close similarity with the aforesaid ones. Nothing is traceable about Majlis-i-Khurshīd in the historical records. I have made out the text as under :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (b)

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا في الدنيا بنى الله له قصرا في الجنة في زمن الملك
العدل. ياربك شاه سلطان بن محمود شاه سلطان بنا كرده مجلس خورشيد سر نويت غير محليان في
الخامس شهر شوال سنة تسع و ستين و ثمانماية

TRANSLATION

The Prophet, peace be upon him, has said : He who builds a mosque in the world, will have a castle built for him by God in Paradise. (The mosque) was constructed in the time of the just Sultān Bārbak Shāh, son of Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh by Majlis Khurshīd, chief of the guards of the royal *harem* on the 5th of Shawwāl, 869 (A. H.—31st May, 1465 A. D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 4

On a mosque at Gurai, District Mymensingh in East Bengal, is a slab (2'9"×1'5"), inscribed in Arabic prose, executed in *Naskhī* characters of a crude type in relief. The inscription consists of three lines comprising a Quranic verse and a tradition of the Holy Prophet in the first line, the

¹ *E. I. M.*, 1935-36, p. 58, plate no. XXXVII (a).

² *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 290.

³ *P. A. S. B.*, 1890, p. 242.

last two assigning the erection of a mosque to Khān-i-Majlis 'Ālī during the reign of Bārbak Shāh on 29th of the month of Ramaḍān 871 A. H. (4th May 1467 A. D.). The epigraph reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (c)

- (۱) قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الاخر و قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيتا في الجنة في نوبت سلطان
- (۲) العهد و الزمان ركن الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر باريكشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و اعلى امره و شانه بنى هذا المسجد العالى المخصوص بغاية الله
- (۳) المتعالى المخاطب بخطاب مجلس على جعل الله دولته ثابتة الاركان راسخة البنيان تم البناء مع التخصيص و التذهيب في التاسع و العشرين من شهر المبارك رمضان سنة احدى سبعين و ثمانماية

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh has said : Surely he builds the mosques for God who believes in Allāh and the Last Day. The Prophet, be peace and the blessing of God on him, has said : He who builds a mosque for Allāh, will have a house built for him by God in Paradise. During the reign of the King

(2) of the age and time, Ruknu'd Duniyā wa'd Dīn Abū'l Muẓaffar Sultān Bārbak Shāh, son of Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule and elevate his position and status, this lofty mosque was built by one who is chosen for the kindness of God

(3) the Exalted, (and) who is entitled Majlis-i-'Ālī, may God make his governorship firm of pillars and steady in foundation. The building was completed along with plaster and gilding on the 29th of the auspicious month of Ramaḍān year 871 (A. H. = 4th May 1467 A. D.).

QUTB SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM ANDHRA STATE

By Z. A. DESAI

I-II.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM KONDAPALLI

These two records were collected by the Government Epigraphist some time back, and were recently transferred to the office of the Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions. A summary of their contents was published in the annual reports¹ which also give the summary of the Telugu versions of the epigraphs found on the respective stones.

The first of these is inscribed on a stone which is reported as 'lying by the side of the Malkapuram Road at Kondapalli', near Bezwada in Krishna District. On the same stone is inscribed the Telugu epigraph whose translation will follow. The Persian record mentions the establishment of a *langar* set up in the name of the Prophet Khidr and the endowment of two villages viz.,

¹ 153 of 1913; 550 of 1925; 548 of 1925. The texts of the Telugu epigraphs have been published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. X, pp. 387, 388-89.

Kavrūr and Khidrābād, and some income for the maintenance of the said *langar*. It comprises twenty lines of Persian prose, preceded by three lines in Arabic. The style of writing is *Naskh* of a crude type and the writing has suffered owing to its exposure to the elements of nature. The language of the epigraph, like the style in which it is executed, is of an inferior order. It may be read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IX (a)

- (۱) [لعنة الله على]
- (۲) القوم الظالمين - بسم الله الذى [لا مبدءاً ؟]
- (۳) له و لا منتهى
- (۴) المراد آنكه بنار يخ منه احدى
- (۵) ثلثين تسعمایه بندگان حضرت
- (۶) مسند على ملك قطب الملك
- (۷) خلد ظلاله العالى بر كفار فتح
- (۸) يافته معامله كند پلى قابض شده
- (۹) موضوع كودود و خضر آباد
- (۱۰) خوالى يذيل ؟ خرج لنكر
- (۱۱) حضرت خواجه خضر عليه (كذا)
- (۱۲) الصلوة و السلام (sic.) و از ولايت لواز
- (۱۳) مه ديودم و برهم تو
- (۱۴) رى تعين فرموده
- (۱۵) و اين را از مال و ملك
- (۱۶) خود جدا کرده و از
- (۱۷) جهت فقراء باب الله تعين کرده و دها
- (۱۸) نیده شده است بايد كه از مسلم و مكفر اين قانون
- (۱۹) تجاوز ننمايد و جارى دارد اگر خلاف كنند
- (۲۰) لعنت خدا بر ایشان باشد و از شفاعت پيغامبر صلعم
- (۲۱) محروم مانند تمام شد لعنت نامه جهت لنكر بخط عهد
- (۲۲) الضعيف النعيف على بن مياستك جنيدى
- (۲۳) فى صدره

(a) Lying by the side of the Malkapuram Rd., Kondapalli



Scale : 173

b) In the central mihrāb, Jāmi' Mosque, Vinukonda



Scale : 13

TRANSLATION

(1) [May the curse of God alight upon]

(2) those who deviate !¹ In the name of God who has no beginning

(3) and no end.

(4) The object (of writing this) is that, in the year one

(5) (and) thirty (and) nine hundred (i.e., 931 A. H.=1524-25 A.D.), His Highness

(6) Masnad-i-'Āli Malik Qutbu'l Mulk,

(7-8) may his lofty shadow remain for ever, having gained victory over the infidels, (and) got possession of the District of Kondapalli

(9-14) endowed the villages of Kavrūr and Khidrābād in the vicinity (?) for the maintenance of the *langar* run in the name of the Prophet Khidr on whom be peace and blessings of God, and fixed, from the territories, the proceeds of Devdum and Brahmtūri (?),

(15-19) and has set these apart from his personal estate, and these have been allotted and caused to be handed over for the benefit of the poor, for God's sake. It is necessary that neither the Muslims nor the non-Muslims should deviate from this order, and (they) should continue to (observe) it. If they disobey it,

(20-23) the curse of God will be on them and they will be deprived of (the favour of) the intercession of the Prophet (on their behalf), may God's blessing and salutation be on him. Finished is this curse-proclamation, as given above, issued in favour of the *langar* (and) written by the weak and humble servant, 'Ali, son of Miyān Malik Junaidi.

The translation of the Telugu record is as under² :—

"Hail ! Prosperity !

In Śaka 145[2] corresponding to Khara, on the day of Chaitra śu.2, Monday, Masanada-Ēli-Kutumana-Malka-Oḍayaluṅgāru, a friend of Mahammadusāba-Sulutānu, after having conquered by his prowess, Koṇḍapalli and other fortresses, established a *langar* (feeding house) called Kidar-bājagadi (?) for the poor, the blind, the lame, the destitute and the dervishes, to the south of Koṇḍapalli in the vicinity of Peyyālugaḷu (?), and granted for the maintenance of the choultry (*dharmma-sattra*) two villages, (namely) Kavrūrū and Kidarabad. (He also granted) some income inclusive of incomes from Brahman and temple lands from the six *sthalas* under the jurisdiction of Koṇḍapalli. (May this gift) be maintained till the sun and moon endure. (Imprecation). This (inscribed) order (is conveyed to) the *sthalā-karanam* Gōvindarāju-Gōparāju-Mahāpātra. The inscribed pillar (is written by) Śrīvrattana (?)."

The other Persian inscription which is engraved on a stone set up near the Brukula house, consists of seventeen lines of Persian prose preceded by one more in Arabic. It is also executed in *Naskh* of a crude type and the language is also of an inferior order. The inscriptional stone has been badly damaged. It seems to record that Malik Qutbu'l Mulk had remitted the tax known as *Andi Santa Sunkam* after he had obtained possession of Kondapalli; the order was not carried out, whereupon he re-ordered the remission with strict instructions that the tax should be deemed remitted till the day of Resurrection. It was written on 29th Rabi' 1 945 A. H. or 1538 A. D. It may be pointed out that the Telugu epigraph on the same stone which was re-set up on

¹ Qur'ān, VII, 44.

² The translation of this as well as the other Telugu record was supplied to me, on request, by Shri N. Laxmī-arayan Rao, M.A., Government Epigraphist, to whom I am greatly indebted.

Āshādha ba. 30, Śōbhakrit (i.e., Śaka 1464 or 1542 A. D.), refers, in addition, to the extension of the remission to the Panchāpamavāru (artisans) etc., which is not referred to in the Persian epigraph.

It has been rendered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VII (b)

- (۱) هو الغنى
 (۲) بتاريخ
 (۳) ۲۹ ماه ربیع الاول سنه ۹۴۵ تحریر یافت
 (۴) که بندگان حضرت خداوند مسند عالی و منصب معالی الخ اکرم
 (۵) ملک قطب الملک خلد ایام دولته و زید جلاله به طرف تانگ جهت اسلام
 (۶) برگزیده عزم نموده حق سبحانه و تعالی فتح بخشیده معامله کوند پل
 (۷) قابض شده برای به خواری ؟ ولایت ایندی سیانتم سونکهم
 (۸) معاف نموده بودند در میان آن شتاله داران این قانون ؟ تجاوز
 (۹) نمودند برین معنی عطا میان و جید راو منهر نایب تهاه دار
 (۱۰) بر صاحب تفویض داشتند صاحب مرحمت فرموده معاف
 (۱۱) کردند اکنون تا قیام قیامت معاف دانند اگر این را تجاوز
 (۱۲) نمایند مسلمانرا سوگند خدا و مصطفی و مرتضی باشد
 (۱۳) و بلعنت خدا گرفتار آید و کافررا سوگند گاو را
 (۱۴) و بهمن را در میان ندی کشنا کشته باشند
 (۱۵) بخط بندہ ضعیف
 (۱۶) علی بن سعید ملک ساکن ابرگی
 (۱۷) فارسی نویس عطاء مذکور ؟

TRANSLATION

- (1) He is Independent.
 (2) On the day
 (3) 29th (of) Rabi' I of the year 945 (A. H. = Sunday, 25th Aug. 1538 A. D.) it was inscribed
 (4) that His Highness Masnad-i-'Āli, Manṣab Ma'ālī, the great Ulugh
 (5-14) Malik Qutbu'l Mulk, may the days of his government last for ever and may his glory ever increase, led an expedition into Telangana for the sake of Islam. God the Glorified and Most Exalted having granted (him) victory, he took possession of the District of Kondapalli and for the prosperity of the country remitted the (tax known as) *Andisyāntamsūnkham*. In the days that followed the *sthāladārs* deviated from this order which matter was represented to the Master

(*ṣāḥib*) by 'Aṭā Miyān and Jidarāomanhar,' *nāib thānadār*. The Master having shown kindness remitted it. (It is therefore notified that) henceforth they should deem it remitted till the day of Resurrection. If any deviation is made, the oath of God, the Prophet and 'All be on the Muslims and he (they) will be subjected to the curse of God; if they be non-Muslims, they will be considered as having committed the sin of killing a cow and a Brahmin in the middle of the river Krishna.

(15) Written by the weak slave

(16) 'Ali, son of Sa'īd Malik, inhabitant of Apargī.

(17) *Fārsīnavīs* to the above mentioned 'Aṭā (?).

The Telugu epigraph has been translated as follows:—

"Lines 1-52. Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year Śaka 14[5]2, corresponding to Vikṛiti, on the day of Vaiśākha ba. 30, Wednesday, when Masanada-Ēli-Kudupana-Malka-Oḍayaluṅgāru took possession of the Koṇḍapalli-rājya in the course of his subjugation of the Hindu kings, on a request being made to him by Gōparāju-Mahāpātra, the *sthalakaraṇam* of this (Koṇḍapalli)-*śima* and the people to remit the tax called *Ānddi-śānta-suṅkam*, he was pleased to remit the tax and order the setting up of a pillar recording it. And when the pillar was (later) damaged and the writing obliterated, Gōparāju-Mahāpātra, the *sthalakaraṇam* of Koṇḍapalli and the people of the town and the *śima* of Koṇḍapalli represented to Attāmiyyaṅgāru and Adirajālāgāru, the *Tāyēdar* and the *Naib-Tāyēdar* of Koṇḍapalli respectively that a new inscribed pillar recording the remission of the *Ānddi-śānta-suṅkam* be set up, the latter despatched a requisition (*aradāsu*) to that effect to Malka Oḍayaluṅgāru, who was pleased to order the remission of the tax and to issue written instructions (*kurachakhattu*) to that effect for the setting up of a new inscribed pillar in the name of the *thāyēdars* of Koṇḍapalli. (In pursuance whereof) in the year Śōbhakṛit, Āshāḍha ba. 30, Sunday, the tax was remitted also on the *Pañchāṇam*-community and this inscribed pillar set up.

Lines 52-70. Imprecatory.

Lines 70-77. This pillar inscription was, on the orders of Kudupana-Malka-Voḍayaluṅgāru and on the strength of the written document (*kurachakhattu*) (*caused to be*) engraved by the *sthalakaraṇam* Gōparāju-Mahāpātra, the son of Virakēdāramāni-Gōvindarāju-Mahāpātra.

Lines 77-80. Benedictory *śloka*."

Great confusion seems to prevail regarding Sulṭān Qulī's conquest and possession of Koṇḍapalli. Mr. Sewell, while commenting upon the earlier epigraph says : It is a question how the Sulṭān had the power to deal with these villages.¹ The account of Sulṭān Qulī's conquests in Telangana as given by the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Qutb Shāhī* or the anonymous historian of the Qutb Shahs as he is popularly called is, despite details, rather too confused chronologically. It may be remembered that from 1513 to 1519-20, Krishnadevaraya was engaged in his campaigns into the Gajapati territories and had not only reconquered the districts south of the river Krishna then in possession of the Gajapati, but also the districts north of it. He had conquered Kondapalli and other places upto Cuttack. The Gajapati who was defeated in every battle and lost almost the whole of his kingdom had to sue for peace. He gave his daughter to Krishnadevaraya in marriage, and obtained in return all the territory to the north of the Krishna which the Raya had taken from him during the war.² Now Qutbu'l Mulk who is generally believed to have assumed sovereignty by this time, was anxious to reconquer the fortresses that had been lost to him and were in possession of the Gajapati. The wars with Krishnadevaraya had left the Gajapati a weaker monarch, while

¹ Probably Adirajālāgāru of the Telugu version.

² Sewell and Aiyangar, *Hist. Insc. of South India*, p. 243.

³ Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, pp.

Krishnadevaraya was engaged for some time from 1520 onwards on the north-western borders of his kingdom. An inscription from Undavalli dated in 1525-26 A. D., refers to Gajapati Prataparudra's stay on the banks of the river Krishna and his construction of a temple at Mangalgiri.¹ The presence of Prataparudra in this region, not far from the find-spots of inscriptions under notice, suggests that Prataparudra had come to fight Sultān Qulī or his forces. This would presuppose the presence of Golconda forces in this region at sometime between 1520 and 1525-26, following which Prataparudra had come down to recover the territories on the Krishna which were occupied by the Golconda forces. In other words, Sultān Qulī might have taken possession of Kondapalli in 1524-25 A. D., as suggested by the earlier Persian epigraph. Also Qutbu'l Mulk might have issued orders for the establishment of the *langar* and endowment of villages but before these could be carried out, Prataparudra might have, if only for a short period, got an upper hand and regained possession of Kondapalli region. However, the death of Krishnadevaraya in 1529 seems to have changed the situation. Sultān Qulī again found an opportunity to realise his ambition and renewed his attacks against the Gajapati dominions in the south and despite the best efforts of the Gajapati officers, Kondapalli was lost to Golconda. This was probably in about March 1531, the date of the first Telugu epigraph.

Now, the other Telugu epigraph which probably refers to the same conquest as the first Telugu one, is dated 1542, while its Persian counterpart bears the date 945 A. H., or 1538 A. D. as the *date of writing*. It may be that the renewal of the remission of taxes which forms the subject of these epigraphs was ordered in 945 A. H., but could only be transferred on the pillar bearing the Telugu version four years later when the new pillar was set up. The extension of the remission to the Panchānamavāru as mentioned in the Telugu epigraph may have been ordered out at this later date. Otherwise, it is difficult to account for the difference of four years between the dates of these two versions.

An interesting feature of these inscriptions is that they mention Sultān Qulī only with the titles, Masnad-i-'Āli, Maṣab Ma'ālī etc., that were conferred upon him by his Bahmanī sovereign; not a single title suggesting royalty is to be found therein. The evidence of these inscriptions bearing on the controversy as to when, if at all, Qutbu'l Mulk had proclaimed his sovereignty has not been taken any notice of. It was generally believed that Qutbu'l Mulk did not declare his independence until 918 A.H. or 1512 A.D., when the imbecility of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī's government was apparent to the whole world and the ascendancy of his ambitious ministers completely established.² Dr. Yazdani tried to prove that this date was earlier by six years and that Qutbu'l Mulk assumed sovereignty in 924 A.H. or 1518 A.D.³ That Qutbu'l Mulk had not declared his independence until 924 A.H., cannot be challenged but it yet remains to be conclusively proved that he did so in or after that year; there is no epigraphical evidence to prove that. On the contrary, the available epigraphical evidence points to the contrary. Prof. H. K. Sherwani in a paper read before the seventh session of the Indian History Congress, has tried to show that not one of the great sief-holders declared his independence while the last rightful Bahmanī Sultan was alive.⁴ As we have stated, the epigraphical evidence does not at all warrant the declaration of independence by Sultān Qulī. The epitaph on Sultān Qulī's grave records his name and titles as Malik Sultān Qulī entitled Qutbu'l Mulk known as Bare Malik (the Great Prince)⁵ which can hardly be construed to connote regal titles. The epithets

¹ 47A of 1909. This inscription is dated Ś 1448 Parthiva. The cycle year referred to is expired year and not the current year (vyaya). For this and other references, I am indebted to my friend Dr. R. Subramanyam, Assistant Archaeological Superintendent, in charge of Nagarjunkonda excavations, Guntur.

² Briggs's *Pirāṇa*, III, p. 323.

³ *Journal of the Hyd. Arch. Soc.*, 1918, pp. 89-94; *Epig. Indo-Mosk.*, 1915-16, p. 19.

⁴ *Proceedings of the Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 7th Session, Madras, 1944, pp. 256-262.

⁵ *Epig. Indo-Mosk.*, 1915-16, p. 27.

الغازى لوجه الله المجاهد في سبيل الله الملك preceding the name in the same epitaph are not at all exclusive for kings and cannot be used in themselves as connoting royalty. As it is, the epitaph clearly shows that he is not mentioned with any royal title at all. The inscriptions under notice also point to the same fact. As late as 931 A. H. and 945 A. H., Sultān Qulī was formally a great nobleman who, though a virtual ruler of Telangana, was only a great noble in charge of the government of that country and not a king in the strict sense of the term.

A few more points may be noted as regards these two records. The later record mentions a few more titles of Qutbu'l Mulk than the earlier one. Secondly, the later epigraph includes the oath of Murtaḍā (i.e., 'Alī) along with that of God and the Prophet, while the earlier one simply proclaims the curse of God and the Prophet. If it is not too much to infer, we may say that the Shiite influence had gathered momentum by 945 A. H., the date of the later record.¹

III.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE JĀMI' MOSQUE, VINUKONDA

Vinukonda, situated in 16°3'N and 79°44'E, is the headquarters of the *taluk* of the same name in Guntur District and is approached by rail. It lies close under the hill after which it is named. With Bellamkonda and Kondavidu, Vinukonda seems to have formed a triangle of fortresses which were the scenes of severe fighting in the 16th century.² Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara captured this fort in 1515 A. D., before he stormed Kondavidu. Two records from Perur near Guḍivada of 1515 and 1520, mention that Nadendla Appana, son of Timmayya and nephew of Saluva Timma, the king's minister, was made governor of Vinukonda, Gutti and Amravati by that king.³ In a record dated 1562 it is stated that Vinukonda province (*sima*) was given to Kondaraja by Rama Raja Tirumal.⁴ It finally passed into the hands of the Golconda Sultans in about 1580 A. D., when 'Imādu'd Dīn Maḥmūd Shirāzī, entitled Haidaru'l Mulk, reduced this fort along with those of Kacherlakota and Cumbum, and left garrison there before marching against Kondavidu.⁵ This fort was regarded as of much importance even after the English took Masulipatam.⁶

The Jāmi' Mosque at Vinukonda is in good state of preservation and is similar in its construction to mosques of this period in this part of the country. It was constructed in the year 1050 A. H. (1640-41 A. D.) by 'Alī Raḍā Khān, entitled 'Ainu'l Mulk, who was deputed by the king to suppress the menace of robbers on the highways to sea-ports. Into the middle of the five arches that constitute its half-pentagonical central *mihrāb*, there is fitted a full arch-shaped slab bearing the following inscription.⁷ It measures from apex to bottom 4'6½" and is 2'2" wide. Above the arch are fixed three separate panels in a horizontal row which have been termed in this article as the upper part of the inscription. Of these panels, those on sides are surrounded by an arched circle and contain the words Allāh, Muḥammad and 'Alī written round and round four times so as to present a floral and geometrical decoration, while the central one is surrounded by a multifoil arch and contains a well-known verse from the Quran. The piece, if considered separate from the inscription on the arch (or say lower part of the inscription), measures 2' by 9".

The lower epigraph is surrounded by two arch-shaped lines running parallel, the inner one fixing the limits of the flourishes of the letters. There is another boundary line round another small arch inside, forming with the above line the margin of the inscription in the shape of an arch: it contains the Shiite *durūd*. The smaller arch is divided into three panels, one upon another

¹ History speaks of Qutbu'l Mulk as a staunch Shi'a.

² *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Provincial series, Madras, vol. I, p. 339.

³ Sewell and Alyangar, *opp. cit.*, p. 240.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁵ Brigg, *opp. cit.*, 111, p. 436. Also see *Government Epigraphist's Reports*, 1909-10, Madras, pp. 119-20.

⁶ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, *opp. cit.*

⁷ 531 of 1913.

containing the *Āyatul Kursī*, the *Nād-i-‘Alī* and the date of construction. The bottom panel is divided from the second one by a broken straight line formed by the horizontal strokes of the letter *ع*.

The whole of the epigraph is inscribed in relief in *Thulth* characters in *Tughrā* style with the exception of the three Persian lines in the bottom panel which are written in *Nasta‘liq*.

TEXT

Plate IX (b)

Upper piece.

(a) on sides الله ' محمد ' على (four times).

(b) centre نصر من الله و فتح قريب

Lower piece.

(a) inside the inner *mihrāb*, top panel

- (۱) الله محمد على بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
- (۲) الله لا اله الا هو الحى القيوم لا تاخذه سنة
- (۳) و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الارض من ذى الذى
- (۴) يشفع عنده الا باذنه و (sic.) يعلم ما بين ايديهم و ما خلفهم
- (۵) و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه الا بما شاء و كرسية
- (۶) السموات و الارض و لا يوده خفهما (sic.) و هو العلى [۱] لعظيم

(b) middle panel

- (۱) ناد عليا مظهر [۱] لعجايب تجده عونلك فنوايب (sic.)
- (۲) كل هم و غم سينجلي بوللات (sic.) يا على يا على يا على

(c) bottom panel

- (۱) در زمان شاه جم جاء سلطان عبد الله قطب شاه خلد الله ملكه بنده
- (۲) على رضا خان عين الملك بدزدان راه بنادر و مهم بابكت بضبط در آورده از
- (۳) براى رواج دين بنای مسجد نمود كه ز هجرت هزار و پنجاه سال بود

(d) in the margin

اللهم صل على المصطفى محمد و المرتضى على و البتول فاطمة و السبطين الحسن و الحسين و صل على زين العباد على و الباقر محمد و الصادق جعفر و (و) الكاظم موسى و الرضا على و التقي محمد و التقي على و الزكى العسكري [۱] لحسن و صل الله على الحجة القايم الخلف الصالح الامام [۱] لهام المنتظر المظفر و المرضى محمد ابن [۱] لحسن صاحب الزمان و قاطع البرهان و خليفة الرحمن و مظهر الايمان سيد الانس و [۱] لجان صلوة الله و سلامه عليه [و] عليهم اجمعين

TRANSLATION

Upper piece.

- (a) God, Muḥammad, 'Alī (four times).
 (b) Help is from God and victory near.

Lower piece.

- (a) God, Muḥammad, 'Alī. In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. *Ayatu'l Kursi*.¹
 (b) *Nād-i-'Alī*.
 (c) (1) During the reign of a Jamshīd in dignity, Sulṭān 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh, may God perpetuate his kingdom, the slave,
 (2) 'Alī Raḍā Khān 'Ainu'l Mulk, having brought to book the robbers on the highways to sea-ports and (having managed) the expedition of Tāngeta (†),
 (3) erected a mosque for the promulgation of Faith when it was one thousand and fifty of the Hijra year (i.e., 1050 A.H.=1640-41 A.D.).
 (d) Shiite *durūd*.

The epigraph, which is remarkable for its beautiful execution and style suffers, however, from the calligraphical mistakes that have crept in. The *Nād-i-'Alī*, for example, is carelessly written as far as its orthography is concerned; thus we have فنوايب instead of في النوايب or الف و او. These mistakes can only be ascribed either to the ignorance of the engraver, who appears to have been less conversant with Arabic or to the complicated arrangement of the text prepared by the scribe, whose writing the engraver copied out *in extenso* on the stone.

Apart from the palaeographic value of the epigraph, its Persian portion is important from historical point of view and speaks of the menace of robbers waylaying the traffic on the roads to ports. Telangana had been in those days notorious for its robbers whose 'dexterity and boldness' are particularly taken note of by the anonymous author of the *Tārikh-i-Quṭb Shāhī*, but Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh's excellent police administration suppressed the menace and restored complete peace and security.² However, the same state of security does not seem to have lasted longer and here, in the present inscription, we have evidence showing that the menace of robbers affecting the trade and traffic to ports had already existed in the days of 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh.

As regards 'Alī Raḍā Khān of the inscription, we do not possess any information. The sources for the history of the Qutb Shahi rulers are not many and whatever there be, are in manuscripts and hence not easily accessible. But it would not be too much to assume that 'Alī Raḍā Khān must have been one of the important personages of the kingdom as his title 'Ainu'l Mulk suggests. Likewise, the name of the town or district whose campaign has been referred to is not clear, since in the inscription the word is inscribed without proper diacritical marks. Though it reads like بابكت, it is not unlikely that the correct name may be تانگتا which reading can be easily obtained by transposition of the dots. Can it be Tangeda, a fort with dependencies mentioned alongwith Vinukonda, the findspot of the inscription under notice, in connection with the reduction of several forts by Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh's forces in about 1580 ?³

¹ Qur'an, II, 255.

² Briggs, *opp. cit.*, p. 446.

³ Sewell and Aiyangar, *opp. cit.*, p. 262.

IV.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE JĀMI' MOSQUE AT CUMBUM

Cumbum town in Kurnool District, situated in 15°35'N and 79°6'E, was considered an important place in medieval period. In 1579 or 1580 A.D., Haidaru'l Mulk, a general of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, after reducing the forts of Vinukonda and Kacharalakota, took Cumbum and left a garrison there.¹ Since then, it formed a part of Golconda territories and on the final overthrow of that empire, passed on to the Mughuls. Later on, 'Abdu'n Nabī Khān Miyāna was made *faujdar* of Kudpa district which, with the growing weakness of the Mughul authority, became a semi-independent state tributary to Hyderabad like Kurnool and Savnur.² During the rule of his greatgrandson 'Abdu'l Ḥalīm Khān, Haidar 'Alī of Mysore overran this country and after capturing the former, bestowed it including Cumbum on his brother-in-law Mir 'Alī Raḍā Khān.³ The latter was succeeded by his son Mir Qamaru'd Dīn Khān in 1780-81 A.D. The Nizām of Hyderabad acquired this and other districts from Mysore by virtue of the Treaties of 1792 and 1799 which closed the second and the third Mysore Wars and finally ceded them in 1800 to the British.

The Jāmi' mosque at Cumbum, situated near the main bazar of the town, bears two Persian inscriptions, both being almost identical in their text with the only difference that the one which is incised on the stone contains some more titles of the king and the minister which are omitted in the other. One of them is incised on a slab of black basalt which is built into the southern wall near the base of the minaret. The epigraph contains two versions of the same record, one in prose and the other in poetry. It records the erection of the mosque by one Sayyid Ḥusain, the *ḥavāladār* of Cumbum, during the reign of Sulṭān 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh when Mir Muḥammad Sa'id⁴ was the *Mir Jumla* of the empire. We do not possess any information regarding Sayyid Ḥusain the builder, who is spoken of in the epigraph as originally belonging to Māzandarān.

The inscriptional tablet measures 1'11" by 1'. The language is Persian and is executed in *Nasḥ* of a fair type. The inscription has suffered a good deal from effects of weather and passage of time, and the letters have become slightly indistinct.

It has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate X (a)

- (۱) در عهد بادشاه فلک قدر قطب شاه
 (۲) کاشمش ز التفات حق عبد الله آمده
 (۳) از یمن لطف میر محمد سعید آلکه
 (۴) پشت و پناه خلق و مرید شه آمده
 (۵) سید حسین کرد بنا مسجدی ز صدق
 (۶) کز وصف آن زبان خرد کوله آمده

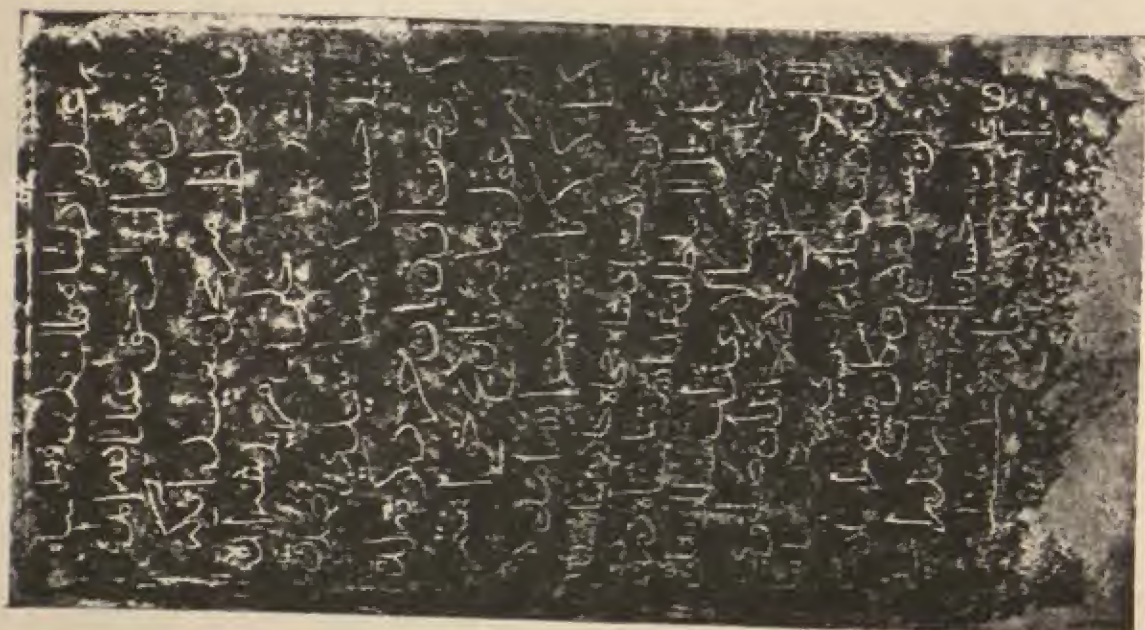
Brigg, *opp. cit.*, p. 436; Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 273; Sewell and Aiyangar, *opp. cit.*, pp. 262, 266.

¹ *Ma'āthirul Umarā*, II, p. 58.

² *Nishān-i-Haidarī* tr. by W. Miles under the title *The History of Hydr Naik*, pp. 351-365; *Ma'āthirul Umarā*, II, p. 59.

⁴ For Mir Muḥammad Sa'id, see *E. I. M.*, 1937-38, p. 52; *Ma'āthirul Umarā*, III, pp. 530-55.

(a) Near the base of the southern minaret, Jāmi' Mosque, Cumbum



Scale : .25

(b) Near the base of the northern minaret, same place



Scale : .3

(۷) از پیر عقل مایه تاریخ خواستم

(۸) گفتا بگو که ثانی بیت الله آمده

(۹) در زمان خلافت پادشاه جمجاه خلایق پناه سلیمان

(۱۰) بارگاه ظل اله سلطان عبد الله قطب شاه در وقت

(۱۱) میر جمگی و سپهسالاری نواب مستطاب معلی

(۱۲) القاب سپهر رکاب خلاصه خاندان مصطفوی

(۱۳) نقاوه دودمان مرتضوی میر محمد سعید بنا

(۱۴) کرد این مسجد رفیع و مکان منبع را سیادت [پناه]

(۱۵) و نجات [دستگاه] میر حسین اشرفی مازلدرازی

(۱۶) حواله دار مگم بتاریخ سنه ۱۰۵۹

TRANSLATION

(1-2) During the reign of the king of heaven-like dignity, Qutb Shāh whose name, through the kindness of God, is 'Abdu'llāh,

(3-4) through the blessings of the kindness of Mir Muḥammad Sa'id, who has been the mainstay of the people and a devoted servant of the king,

(5-6) Sayyid Husain, out of truthfulness (of intention) constructed a mosque, of whose description, (even) the tongue of Wisdom has fallen short.

(7-8) I sought the chronogram from the old Man of Reason; he replied, 'Say: (it is) second to the House of God'.

(9) During the reign of the caliphate of the King, Jamshīd in dignity, shelter of people, (having) Solomon-like

(10) audience-hall, Shadow of God, Sulṭān 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh (and) during the period of

(11) Mir Jumla-ship and army-command of the gracious Nawwāb of lofty

(12) titles, whose stirrup is sphere, the cream of the family of the Prophet,

(13) the best of the house of 'Alī, Mir Muḥammad Sa'id,

(14-16) Mir Husain Ashrafi Māzandarāni, the Sayyid, the Noble, the *ḥavāladār* of Kamam erected this lofty mosque and precious house in the year 1059 (A.H.=1649 A.D.).

The date given in figures at the end of the epigraph in prose, is afforded by the chronogram contained in the second hemistich of the last verse (l. 8) viz., *second to the House of God*.

The other slab, measuring 1' 3" by 1', is built into the northern wall just opposite to the above one and contains the above epigraph with minor differences as already observed. The style of writing of the poetical portion here is *Nasta'liq* while that of the prose is *Nasikh* of a fair type. Both of them are inscribed in *basso-relievo*. Since the epigraph is more or less a reproduction of the previous one, it is not found necessary to give its text (see Plate X b).

SOME INSCRIPTIONS FROM KALPI AND JATARA

By Y. K. BUKHARI

Estampages of the four out of six epigraphs included in this article were collected by Maulavi Ashraf Husain, the ex-Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions about two years back, of which two are from Kalpi, District Jalaun (U. P.) and two from Jatara in Vindhya Pradesh. Impressions of the remaining two inscriptions from Kalpi (nos. 3 and 4) were taken long ago by Maulavi Muhammad Shuaib of the Department of Archaeology and preserved in our office.

These inscriptions are dated A.H. 839, 853, 906, 935, 961 and 961, and represent the periods of Sayyids, Lodis, Mughuls and Sûrs. Of them, five are in *Nasikh* style of an ordinary type and the remaining one is executed in *Thuluth* characters in relief. Out of the six inscriptions, one is bilingual written in Persian and Sanskrit. Thus dating from A.H. 839 to A.H. 961 (A.D. 1436 to A.D. 1554), they cover a period of nearly one hundred and twenty years which may be treated as a transitional age in the domain of calligraphy. *Nasikh* paved the way for *Nasta'liq* which developed in the Mughul period and reached its zenith in the reign of *Shah Jahān* (1627-1657). The script of these epigraphs may help one to mark the gradual development in the art of writing.

I have arranged the inscriptions in chronological order but place-wise. The first two epigraphs from Kalpi indicate the erection of two domed tombs of *Shaikh Abū'l Fath* and *Bābū Hājī Samad* respectively. *Shaikh Abū'l Fath*, the occupant of the first tomb was a great saint of his age. He was a disciple and *khalifa* of *Haqrat Banda Nawāz Gaisū Darāz* of Gulbarga. About the next occupant unfortunately nothing is known so far. The third and fourth inscriptions are identical and record the construction of a *Jāmi'* Mosque during the reign of *Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil* of the *Sūr* dynasty by *Mubārak Khān*, son of *Iqbāl Khān*. The last two stone-records, from Jatara, assign the construction of two step-wells during the governorships of *Isma'il Khān*, son of *Nizām Khān* and *Tātār Khān*, a favourite of *Sikandar Shah Lodi* respectively.

Kalpi

The town of Kalpi lies in latitude 26°8'N and longitude 79°45' E on the banks of the Jamuna river, 22 miles far from the district headquarters. It was a great centre of trade and business chiefly for cotton and *ghi* at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is a prominent place of historical significance. The foundation of the town was laid down, as *Firishṭa* thinks, by *Basdeo* or *Vasudeva*, the ruler of *Qannauj* and the contemporary of the Sassanian king *Bahrām Gor* in Persia¹ but another view assigns its foundation to a *Dev*, known as *Kālib Deva*.² *Rāja Birbal*, one of the illustrious nine gems of the court of Emperor Akbar was born at Kalpi. Also the holy saint *Shaikh Burhān* is known to have resided there. It is said that the fort of the town was one of the eight great forts of the *Chandela Rajputs*. It formed part of the kingdoms of the *Delhi Sultāns*, *Hoshang Shah* of *Mālwa*, the *Jaunpur chiefs*, *Bābur* and *Humāyūn*. The earliest reference to the town is found in historical records in connection with its capture by *Qutbu'd Dīn Aibak* in 593 A.H. (1196 A.D.).

The cultural and archaeological background of the town is also noteworthy. It was the capital of a *sarkār* and had a mint for copper coinage. The ancient relics and monuments are

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* quoted in the *Gazetteer and Tawārīkh-i-Kalpi*.

² *Tawārīkh-i-Kalpi* by *Shaikh Khudā Baksh* (manuscript preserved in the library of the Department of Archaeology, Northern Circle, Agra).

still traceable there. Affording a clear evidence of the antiquity of the town, they shed light on the art and architecture of that period and form the bulwark of the cultural side of the town.¹

I.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE TOMB OF SHĀH ABŪ'L FATH IN MAHALLA HARĪ GANJ

The tomb is square in plan with a low doorway in each of its sides. These doorways are all arched except the one on the south, over which at a height of 5' 3" from the ground is a Persian inscription in verse assigning the commencement of the tomb of Shaikh Abū'l Fath, a famous saint of Kalpi and a *khalifa* of Shāh Gaisū Darāz of Gulbarga (whose another *khalifa* Bhola Sālār lies buried to the east of the Station Road near Sirhi Darwāza). The aforesaid tomb is built of stones and bricks in lime and mortar covered over with lime plaster. The dome is bulbous. It is carved on an octagonal drum and crowned by a crested finial. The tomb is in good repair.

The inscription is divided into three panels, the upper portion being a triangle in shape bearing the words 'هو الباقي' 'قطعه' (He is Ever-living, Segment), while the lower panels are squares of equal size containing the first hemistiches of verses on the right hand side and the second ones on the left hand. The construction of the tomb was commenced in Sha'bān 853 A.H. (September 1449 A.D.) and completed after seven months in Šafar 854 A.H. (March 1450 A.D.). The inscription slab is 1'7½" × 1'5", executed in *Naskhī* characters in relief.

The occupant of the tomb, mentioned in the inscription, was Shaikh Abū'l Fath 'Alā'ī Quraishī, a celebrated saint of the 15th century as mentioned above. Shaikh Abū'l Fath was well versed in worldly sciences and possessed spiritual faculties as well. He also visited Mecca and Madina and was called زائر الحرمين (the visitor of the two harems), thereafter. He was the author of a great number of books, 'Awārifu'l Ma'ārif being one of the best among the lot. He had also written twenty other books on mysticism.² According to *Khazīnatu'l Aṣfiyā* he died in 862 A.H., and lies buried at Kalpi. The chronogram of his death is given in the book in the following verses :—

چون رفت از عالم فانی بجنت شه اهل یقین هادی ابو الفتح
چو سال انتقالش جستم از دل بگفتا میردین هادی ابو الفتح

This date is in contravention of the epigraphical evidence which gives 853 A. H. as the date of the foundation of his tomb. In all probability, the tomb might have been built during the life-time of the saint (as was the practice in those days) who, on his death, was interred therein. The inscription does not record the date of his death but only assigns the commencement and completion of the tomb. The text is cited below :—

TEXT

Plate XI (a)

هو الباقي

قطعه

- (۱) گنبد شیخ زائر الحرمين شیخ ابو الفتح قطب اهل زمان
(۲) در بلندے شدت رشک فلک در لطافت شدت رشک چنان

¹ For a detailed history of and information about Kalpi, please see (a) *District Gazetteer of the United Provinces*, vol. XXV, Jalaun, pp. 159-163, (b) *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. XXI, pp. 131-133, and (c) A. Fuhrer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North Western Provinces and Oudh*, pp. 112, 113.

² *Khazīnatu'l Aṣfiyā*, p. 379.

- (۳) بود بنیاد وے بهیصد و سہ [بم]د پنجہاء در مہ شعبان
(۴) شد ازاں پس بہفت ماہ تمام در صفر از عنایت یزدان

TRANSLATION

He is the Ever-living

Segment

- (1) The tomb of the Shaikh, the visitor of the two ḥarams, Shaikh Abū'l Faṭḥ, the Qutb (or the pole star) of the people of the world
(2) is an object of envy for the sphere on account of its loftiness, and emulated by Paradise on account of its elegance.
(3) Its foundation took place in the month of Shā'bān 803 after adding 50 (to it) (i.e., 853 A.H.=September 1449 A.D.).
(4) After that it was completed by the grace of God in seven months in the month of Ṣafar (of the following year).

II.—FROM THE TOMB OF SHAIKH ḤĀJĪ ṢAMAD, ADALSARĀI MAḤALLA

Near the *Thatheron kā Kuān* is a domed structure, square in plan, provided with a doorway on each of its four sides. It is made of bricks in lime covered over with lime plaster. The drum of the dome is octagonal. There are ominous cracks in all the four arched entrances and if not immediately repaired, the tomb is in imminent danger of collapse without notice any moment. There being so few monuments assignable to Bābur's period, the tomb amply deserves protection.

Over the east entrance of the tomb is an epigraph in Persian prose consisting of five lines, each line having been inscribed in a horizontal panel. It mentions the name of the occupant of the tomb as Shaikh Bābū Ḥājī Ṣamad and assigns the construction during the governorship of Sultān 'Ālam Lodī in the reign of the Mughul Emperor Bābur on the 15th of Rajab 935 A.H. (25th March 1529 A.D.). The style of writing is *Nasikh* of an inartistic nature, carved in embossed letters. The inscription slab measures 10"×7½" and reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XII (a)

- (۱) این گنبد شیخ بابو حاجی صمد د [ر]
(۲) عهد بابر بادشاہ مغل
(۳) عمل سلطان عالم لودی
(۴) بتاریخ پانزدہم ماہ رجب
(۵) سنہ خمسہ و تسعمایہ مرتب شد

TRANSLATION

- (1) This tomb of Shaikh Bābū Ḥājī Ṣamad
(2) during the reign of the Mughul King Bābur,
(3) (and during) the governorship of Sultān 'Ālam Lodī
(4) on the 15th of the month of Rajab
(5) year 935 (A.H.=25th March 1529 A.D.) was constructed.

III-IV.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE DEORHI MOSQUE IN THE UDHAMPURA MAHALLA

The mosque is built of mortar and brick ; it measures about 30' by 15', consists of 3 bays and is surmounted by 3 domes. Of the two inscriptions noticed here, one (plate XI b) is fixed on the right corner of the central arch and comprises six lines, while the other (plate XI c), fixed over the entrance of the mosque, contains seven lines of record and in addition a few words on the left border. Both are carved on the slabs of red sandstone, executed in *Nasikh* characters of an indifferent type in relief. They are in Persian prose and identical in their text (excepting two words) which runs to the effect that the mosque was constructed on Sunday, the 8th of the month of Dhu'l Hajjah 961 A.H. (4th November 1554 A.D.) during the reign of Sulṭān Muhammad 'Ādil of the Sūr dynasty by Mubārak Khān, (son of) Iqbāl Khān.

The word جامع occurring near the end of the third line under the words این مسجد in the former inscription (plate XI b) is absent in the other inscription (plate XI c). This word should properly be read after the word مسجد and thus it reads as این مسجد جامع (this Jāmi' mosque). It appears that the mosque referred to in the epigraphs is not an ordinary type but a congregational one as clarified by the word جامع in the former inscription. Moreover, since the word جامع is carved beneath the words این مسجد and is absent in the other, one may draw the conclusion that the word in question might have been left out through oversight by the engraver in both of the epigraphs at first, but later on it was carved in the former inscription under the words این مسجد as there was no space for its insertion in the proper line between the aforesaid words.

The next point which is to be noted here is one day's difference in the date, the day recorded (viz., Sunday) being the same. The former inscription mentions the date as Sunday, the 7th of the month of Dhū'l Hajjah, while in the other the date is recorded as Sunday, the 8th of the month of Dhū'l Hajjah. Thus the difference of one day lies in the epigraphs, but on scrutiny the date in the second inscription is found correct and exact because the day یکشنبه (Sunday) was the 8th and not the 7th of the month of Dhū'l Hajjah 961 A.H. (vide von Eduard Mahler, *vergleichungs-Tabellen*, p. 25).

The second inscription ends in the word هرکه and runs on to the left border but the words do not admit of decipherment as they are completely peeled off. I think with all probability that since both the inscriptions are identical, the abraded words in the border must be بخواند به فاتحه یاد ارد. They may be read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XI (b)

(a)

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
- (۲) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
- (۳) در عهد سلطان محمد عادل این مسجد جامع بنا کرد
- (۴) مبارکخان اقبالخان سروانی پرجنبیل فرمایش خواجه

(۵) محمد خواجه محمود ابتدا ماه ذو الحجه بتاریخ هفتم روز یکشنبه

(۶) سنه احدى ستین و تسعمایه هر که بخواند [به] فاتحه یاد آرد

(b)

Plate XI (c)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۳) در عهد سلطان محمد عادل

(۴) این مسجد بنا کرد مبارکخان اقبالخان

(۵) سروانی پریجخیل فرمایش خواجه محمد

(۶) خواجه محمود ابتدا ماه ذو الحجه تاریخ

(۷) هشتم روز یکشنبه سنه احدى ستین تسعمایه هر که

On the left border.

[بخواند به فاتحه یاد آرد]

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

(2) There is no god but God ; Muḥammad is the Prophet of God.

(3) In the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil, this Jāmi' mosque was constructed by

(4) Mubārak Khān, (son of) Iqbāl Khān, Shirwānī (of) Paraj Khail (tribe) at the instance of Khwāja

(5) Muḥammad, (son of) Khwāja Maḥmūd, dated Sunday, the 8th of the month of Dhū'l ajjah

(6) (in) the year nine hundred and sixty-one (4th November 1554 A.D.). Whoever reads (this) should recite the *fātiḥa* (Opening chapter of the Quran).

As may be easily seen, the language of the records and their styles of writing are of an ordinary type, being most probably the work of a local scribe. These are two of the few known records indicating the name of Muḥammad 'Ādil Sūr, better known in history as 'Adlī or Andhlī as the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* states.¹ His original name was Mubārīz Khān. He was a cousin of Islām Shāh who had married his sister. When Islām Shāh died, Mubārīz Khān ascended the throne after putting to death Firūz, his own nephew, and assumed the title of Muḥammad 'Ādil. From an account given in the *Ṭabaqāt*, it appears that Islām Shāh had no faith in him. He used to tell his wife, Bibī Bā'ī by name, that if she loved her son Firūz Khān, she should allow him to kill her brother Mubārīz Khān, who was a hindrance in the path of her son, and if she loved her brother, she should wash her hands off the life of her son, for he was afraid, he said, that Firūz stood in constant danger from his uncle. The wife did not agree saying that her brother did not cherish any desire for kingship, being given to merriment and pursuit of music.²

¹ Nawal Kishore Ed., pp. 238, 239.

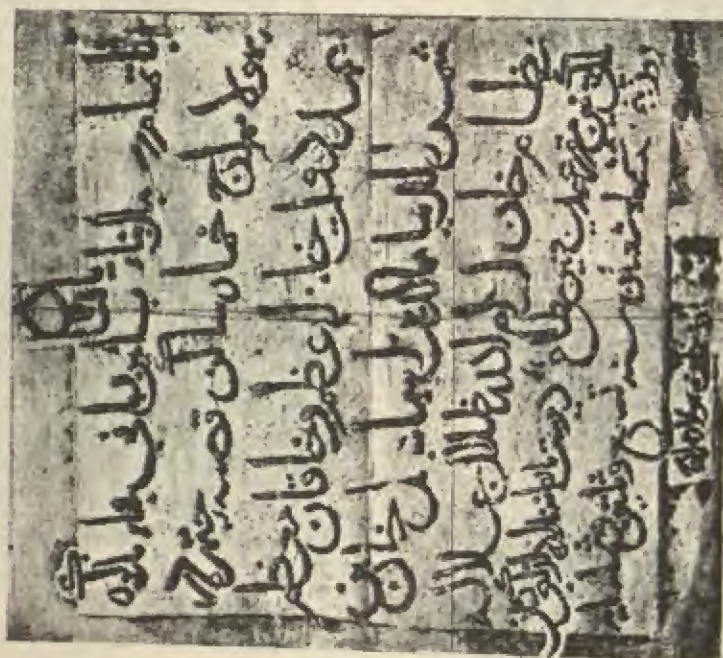
² *Ibid.*, p. 118. Ḥājī Dabīr, the author of the celebrated Arabic History of Gujarat, gives more or less the same story which he had heard from Miṣṣān 'Abdu'r Razzaq who was in the prime of his youth during the reign of Sher Shāh and who had come to Gujarat in the reign of Islām Shāh (*Zafaru'l Wāliḥ*, II, p. 1104).

(a) Over the entrance of Shaikh
Haji Samad's tomb, Kalpi



Scale : 32

(b) From the Laukiagaron Ki Boli, Jajara



Scale : 266

(c) From the Shajekhonwāl Bāoli, Jajara



Scale : 3

As regards Mubārak Khān, he may be identical with the official under that name, who along with Bahādur Khān, was despatched at the head of artillery forces to Panipat by Himū when Akbar proceeded against the latter.¹ We have no information regarding Khwāja Muḥammad at whose instance the mosque was constructed.

Jatara

Jatara or Jathra² is a place of considerable historical interest. It lies in 25°1' N and 79°6' E, situated below the level of a lake in the Tikamgarh District of Vindhya Pradesh. Jatara is rich in respect of ancient and mediæval monuments of architectural devices. Some of them bear inscriptions in Persian belonging to the style of the later Mughuls. Abū'l Faḍl mentions the town as the head-quarters of a *maḥal* in the Irich *sarkār* of the *ṣubāh* of Agra. It is said that Islām Shāh of the Sūr dynasty named it as Islāmābād after his own name but 'on the defeat of Salim Shāh Sūrī, Bharti Chand restored the old name of Jatara to the town'.

The monuments and epigraphs at Jatara may be of considerable help to a student of Indian architecture and history. One can study the specimens of ancient architecture, its gradual development, fusion of Hindu and Islamic styles and the characteristics of the Mughul buildings. But most of the monuments excepting a few, are in dilapidated condition.

The village contains a number of buildings, tombs and step-wells, one of which known as *Laulāngar kī Bāoli* bears an inscription in Persian included in this paper.

V.—INSCRIPTION FROM LAULĀNGAR KĪ BĀOLĪ

The *bāoli* is rectangular, 93' × 28' × 13', situated at a distance of half a mile from the village. There is a circular well behind it with a diameter of 26' 5". There is a roofed passage between the well and the *bāoli*, bearing two inscriptions on each side of the passage. One of them, on the right hand side, is in Persian, while the other one on the left hand side is in Sanskrit.

The Persian epigraph consists of nine lines, one in verse and the rest in prose, executed in *Thulṭh* characters of an ordinary type in raised letters. It assigns the construction of the *bā'in* (step-well) to one Bholā Mahrāj, a liquor-seller, resident of the town of Jatara, during the governorship of Ismā'il Khān, son of Nizām Khān, on Thursday, the 6th of the month of Sha'bān 839 A.H. (24th February 1436 A.D.). The text is cited below :—

TEXT

Plate XII (b)

- | | |
|--|-----|
| یا فتاح | (۱) |
| باتمام رسید بناء بالین و بانی بناء مذکور | (۲) |
| بهولا مهرراج خمار ساکن قصبه جتہرہ در | (۳) |
| عہد دولت خا[ن] اعظم و خاقان معظم | (۴) |
| شمس الدنیا و الدین اسماعیل خان بن | (۵) |

¹ N. B. Roy, *The Successors of Sher Shāh*, p. 82.

² Blochmann, *A's*, II, p. 188.

³ This is unhistorical, being only a legend recited in the verses in *Brij Bhāṣā*. (For the text of the story, see *Central India State Gazetteer Series, Eastern States*, vol. VIA, Bundelkhand, p. 75).

- (۶) نظام خان [د] ام الله خلال جلاله
 (۷) ملکہ چنیں مقرر عہدی چنیں مطاع دیرست تا زمانہ لدادہ از کہے نشان
 (۸) روز پنجشنبہ ششم ماہ شعبان سنہ تسع و ثلثین و ثمانہ مایہ
 (۹) بہولہ مہراج

TRANSLATION

- (1) O Opener !
 (2) The foundation of the stepped-well reached its completion, and the founder of the said fabric (is)
 (3) Bholā Mahrāj, the liquor-seller, resident of the town of Jatahra, during
 (4) the governorship of the exalted Khān and the great Khāqān
 (5) Shamsu'd Duniyā wa'd Dīn, Ismā'il Khān, son of
 (6) Nizām Khān, may God perpetuate the shadow of his glory.
 (7) A kingdom so firmly established and a rule so universally obeyed have not been given sign of in any body by Time since ages.
 (8) On Thursday, the 6th of Sha'bān year 839 (A. H.=24th February 1436 A. D.).
 (9) Bholā Mahrāj.

Ismā'il Khān referred to in the record seems to be a governor owing allegiance to the Sultan of Kalpi, where a minor dynasty was reigning at the time when Kalpi was a buffer state between Jaunpur and Malwa. Nothing can be traced about him in the contemporary records. Hājji Dabir in his *Arabic History of Gujarat*, however, mentions one Majlis-i-Sāmī Ismā'il Khān, ruler of Kalpi, who arrived in 841 A.H. to Chanderienroute to Gujarat from where he intended to proceed for pilgrimage.¹ It is not definite if he is identical with the same Ismā'il Khān of the present epigraph.

VI.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE SHAIKHONWĀLĪ BĀOLĪ, DAULATPURA

It is reported that the bāolī is situated nearly one mile to the south-west of the village. It is a circular big well having stairs to reach the water. Its diameter is 19' 6". There is an inscription in the well embedded in the wall inside measuring 1' 5" × 1'. It is bilingual, the upper half being in Persian prose in six lines executed in Naskhī letters of an inartistic nature in relief and the lower portion in Sanskrit consisting of eight lines carved in Nāgarī script incised on stone. The Persian version records the construction of a step-well by one Shyām Kunwar Kalāwanti (musician), resident of the town of Jatahra, during the governorship of Tātār Khān, son of Muḥammad on Wednesday, in the month of Rajab 906 A.H. (January 1501 A.D.).

The inscription in the Persian version does not mention the name of the ruler or the dynasty but only refers to the name of the governor appointed there. Tātār Khān was made governor of Jatahra by Buhlāl Lodī, and was later on confirmed by Sikandar Lodī when the latter visited Jatahra after ascending the throne.² About another person referred to in the epigraph, namely,

¹ *Zafaru'l Walīā*, pp. 197-98.

² *Tab. Akbarī*, p. 160.

Shyām Kunwar Kalāwantī (the builder of the well), nothing is traceable in historical records. The epigraph reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XII (c)

- (۱) باتمام رسید بناء بالین و بانی
(۲) [ش]یام کنور کلاونتی ساکن قصبه
(۳) جتہرہ در عہد دولت^۱ [خان] اعظم و خاقان
(۴) معظم تاتار خان بن محمد ادام اللہ
(۵) نلال جلالہ روز چہار شنبہ ماہ رجب
(۶) رجب قدرہ سلہ ست وتسعمایہ

TRANSLATION

- (1) The construction of the *bā'in* was finished and the builder (is)
(2) Shyām Kunwar Kalāwantī (musician or artist), resident of the town
(3) of Jatahra, during the governorship of the great (*Khān*)
(4) and exalted *Khāqān*, Tātār *Khān*, son of Muḥammad, may God perpetuate
(5) the shadows of His glory, on Wednesday, the month of Rajab,
(6) may its dignity increase, year 906 A.H. (January 1501 A.D.).

The inscription in Sanskrit cannot be fully deciphered owing to the indistinct nature of the inscription. The date is Vikrama Samvat 1557, Phalguna-Sudi 3. This seems to have fallen a few days later than "Wednesday, Rajab 906 A.H.", recorded in the Persian portion of the epigraph. Mention is made of the *rājya* or reign of one *Tātārā Khānā*, possibly called *Mahākhānā*, and to the subordinate ruler of Jatahada nagarā, whose name is doubtful but ended in *udana*. Line 5 refers to the *vāpi* or step-well and line 3 to *Kalāwantā*. But the details known from the Persian part in this connection cannot be clearly made out.²

A PERSIAN INSCRIPTION OF ADIL SHAHI PERIOD FROM SIRUGUPPA

By Z. A. DESAI

The following inscription which comes from Siruguppa in Bellary District was noticed by the Government Epigraphist some three decades back and a summary of its contents was published in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1922-23³ where no attempt was made to identify 'Abdu'l Muḥammad, son of Malik Raiḥān. It is stated there that 'Amadatulla Ayyāna mallika Abdulla Mahammada Rehan Sāheba and his chief Havalḍār at Ādavāni (Adoni) and

¹ Probably the word خان is left out between the words دولت and اعظم.

² I am grateful to Dr. D. C. Sircar M.A., Ph.D., Superintendent for Epigraphy, Ootacamund, for sending a note on the Sanskrit version of the epigraph. He kindly examined the text and furnished the information about its contents.

³ Pp. 46, 125.

Rayachūru (Raichur) are mentioned in a record from Siruguppa' (i.e., the present record). It may be observed that the chief *Ḥavāladār* at Adoni and Raichur is none other than 'Abdu'l Muḥammad, though this statement wants us to believe otherwise. As the inscription is not without historical interest, it is being published here alongwith its facsimile.

Siruguppa stands on a narrow branch of the Tungabhadra. The name Siruguppa means 'pile of wealth' and is well earned by the striking contrast which its rich wet land watered by two branches of an anicut channel from the Tungabhadra affords to the parched dry land around it. There is an old fort, on a bastion of which stands the temple of Sambhu Linga, the oldest in the village. Within its enclosure are two inscribed stones, but one is broken into two and the other is chipped.¹

The present inscribed tablet which measures about 3' by 1' 4" is reported to have been built into the wall of the bastion near the Śambhulingasvāmin temple. The epigraph has been inscribed in three languages, namely, Persian, Marathi and Kannada. The Persian version records the erection of a bastion in the midst of the river, while the Marathi and Kannada versions mention the erection of a well as well. It is further to be noted that the Kannada version is dated in Śaka Era, while the Persian and Marathi records bear the date in *Shuhūr San*. The Marathi record which is almost a translation of the Persian record otherwise, adds, as already stated, the words *Śambhudevu bāi* (a well of god Śambhu) before Ḥusainī Burj as also the benedictory words *dāma daulatah* after the name of the nobleman. The bastion is not mentioned by any name in the Persian record.

The Persian record is pretty weather-beaten and is inscribed in *Naskh* of a crude type with the result that a word or two could not be deciphered. It comprises three lines in prose. It begins with a religious text about the Omnipotence of God instead of the usual *Bismillāh*. There is no reference to the ruling king. At this period the Adil Shahi ruler was Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II.

It has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIII (a)

- (۱) و الله قادر على ما يشاء
 (۲) در سال شهر سنه بیان عشر (sic.) الف از جهت مقاصی ؟ حضرت شجاعت دستگاه
 ملک عالیشان سعادت نشان عمده الاعیان ملک عبدالمحمد ابن ملک ریحان سرحوالدار قلعه ادونی
 و معاملت رایچور
 (۳) و شهر محمد نور از جهت ؟ مقاصی حصار سرگوبه و بتخانه داری دلپتراو در میان ندی
 برج بنا کرده بود بتاریخ بیست هفتم ماه رمضان المبارک روز الفتنه ؟ مستعد کرده شده است باقی
 خیر خوبی نصیب باد آمین

TRANSLATION

(1) God is Powerful over whatever He wills.

(2-3) In the *Shuhūr San* 1018, on behalf (?) of the intrepid master, Malik of high dignity, having signet of happiness, the best of grandees, Malik 'Abdu'l Muḥammad, son of Malik Raiḥān, *Sarḥavāldār* of the fort of Adawnī, the District of Rāichūr and the city of Muḥammad Nūr for (?) the *muqāḍā* of Sirguppa fort, and during the *thānadārī* of Dalpat Rāo, a bastion was constructed in the middle of the river, (which) has been completed on.....27th Ramaḍānu'l Mubārak. As for the rest, may (all) be blessed with goodness and excellence ! Amen.

¹ *Gazetteer of Bellary District*, p. 234.

² This phrase, the reading of which is doubtful, occurs in the next line also.

Marathi Version¹

"This Marathi version is identical in the main with its Kannada version which has been translated.² The following changes may be noted :—

1. The date in line 1 is given in *Suhuru San*. The expression *खान आळी इयन* is an addition before *अमदतुळ*.
2. In line 4 *दळपतीराउ* is mentioned as *ठाणदार* which is not so in Kannada. The Marathi word *बाई*³ evidently stands for the Kannada *bhāvi* meaning a 'well'. The benediction at the end in Kannada is absent in Marathi."

Kannada Version

"Hail ! Let there be victory and prosperity. In the Śālivāhana Śaka year 1549 and Prabhava, on Jyēsthā bahuja 30, Sunday, Rājeśri Dalapatirāya constructed a well of god Śambhu and a bastion called Huseni Burju when Amadatulla Ayyāna malika Abdulla Mahamada Rehana Sāhēba was holding charge of the Adavāni Fort as Sar Havāldar and of Mamale Rāyichūru, Śahar Mahamadanūru, Mokhāsā-hisāra Siruguppā. May this have the strength of the moon, the sun and the stars. May auspiciousness and splendour attend this."

Before we proceed to refer to the personages mentioned in the inscription, we may compare the three versions in their dates and contents. The Persian version records the date as 1018 *Shuhūr San*, while the Marathi clearly mentions 1028 *Sahur San* in words (*Samān Asharīn*). The latter date tallies with the year Śaka 1549 given in the Kannada version which corresponds to 1028 *Shuhūr San* or 1036 Hijra or 1627 A. D. It is very likely that the engraver of the Persian inscription may have inadvertently inscribed *شان و عشرین* instead of the correct date *شان و عشرین*.

As regards the contents, the Persian record mentions only the construction of the bastion in the middle of the river (the bastion is not called by any name), while both the Marathi and Kannada versions mention the construction of the bastion called Huseni Burj as well as that of a well of god Śambhu.

The epigraph is important from historical point of view. 'Abdu'l Muḥammad, son of Malik Raiḥān of the inscription seems to have been one of the foremost grandees of the Adilshahi kings. It is really surprising to find the Persian chronicles completely silent regarding him. We do not find a mention of him even by name or otherwise, direct or indirect, in any work including the *Basāṭinu's Salāṭīn*. Malik 'Abdu'l Muḥammad seems to have governed Raichur and its surrounding parts for a number of years, as may be gathered from a number of inscriptions at Raichur in which he appears as the builder of some monuments at that place. For example, the Jāmi' Mosque inside the fort of Raichur has two inscriptions mentioning its erection by him in 1032 A.H. (1622-23 A.D.) during the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, while the inscription on Mir Husain Shāhib's dargāh speaks of a granary constructed by him in the same year. Another inscription dated in the same year, found near the Kati gate of Raichur speaks of him as *Amir 'Amil* who constructed nine arches, and yet another on the gate itself records his having constructed the arch of the gate

¹ These two versions have been deciphered, translated and annotated for me by Shri P. B. Desai of the Government Epigraphist's Office, Ootacamund, through the good offices of Shri N. Laxminarayana Rao, Government Epigraphist, to both of whom my cordial thanks are due.

² See below.

³ *Bā'ī* is used in a number of Persian inscriptions in the sense of a step-well. Also cf. *बाई* in Gujarati.

in the same year. An inscription from the Jāmi' Mosque of the town speaks of his having constructed the mosque, which was completed in 1038 A. H.¹

Apart from these epigraphs, 'Abdu'l Muḥammad finds mention in a Telugu manuscript in Mackenzie collection, as having led, alongwith his brother 'Abdu'l Wahhāb, an attack on Kurnool in 1504 Siddharti.² Tradition ascribes to him as his resting place the larger of the tombs in Kurnool, known locally as 'Abdu'l Wahhāb kā Gumbad.³ As regards Dalapatrāo during whose *thānadārī* the bastion was constructed, I have not been able to gather any information. However, the *Basātīn* mentions one Dalapatrāo, a *nāikwārī* at Dharwar who was imprisoned by Murārī in about 1045 A.H., when the latter fled to Dharwar. Murārī, it is said, could not get access to the fort at first, but later on, Dalapatrāo and other *nāikwārīs* came out of the fort and received him when he got them arrested.⁴ But it is difficult to say whether he is the same person as mentioned in the present record. Both the Marathi and Kannada versions call him Rājeśrī.

It has not been possible to identify Muḥammadnūr, which seems to have some sort of association with the name of 'Abdu'l Muḥammad. The *Basātīn* gives various names of Kurnool, viz., Muḥammadnagar, Muḥammad Nūr etc.,⁵ but whether Kurnool is meant here, it is difficult to say, due not only to the absence of any other evidence but also to the fact that the Hyderabad edition of the *Basātīn* is very corrupt.

TWO PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REIGN OF SHAH JAHAN FROM SARAI EKDIŁ, DISTRICT ETAWA

BY Y. K. BUKHARI

Some time back, I brought to the notice of the ex-Assistant Superintendent of Epigraphy two unpublished Persian inscriptions at Ekdil, a village in the District of Etawah in U.P. He wanted me to collect their estampages and write notes on them for publication in this Journal. My observations are as follows :—

Ekdil, a small town in the District of Etawah, lies in 26°46'N and 79°5'E, five miles east of Etawah on the road to Aursiya. The village is said to have been founded by Saksena Kayasths and called *Sarai Rupa* after the name of the founder. The railway station Ekdil is situated about a mile and a half to the north of the town on the Northern Railway. About a mile to the east of the town is a *bāoli* or stepped-well, said to have been built by a *Banjara*.⁶

In the reign of the Mughul Emperor, Shāh Jahān, a eunuch named Yakdīl Khān constructed an inn (*sarāi*) and a small unpretentious mosque in the years 1039 A.H. and 1042 A.H. (1629 A.D. & 1632 A.D.) respectively and thenceforth the town came to be called Ekdil (or Yakdīl) after him. A metalled road, lined up with shops on one side leads to the main gate built of red sandstone, bearing a Persian inscription above the arch. The other inscription appears on the mosque of Yakdīl Khān nearby. Although of no particular importance today and the *Imperial Gazetteer* and the *District Gazetteer*, Etawah, are almost silent about it, the inscriptions under notice lead one to infer that it was a pretty important place in the mediaeval period and travellers used to stay there comfortably.

¹ Bakhir'ud Dīn Ahmad, *Wāqī'āt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijāpūr*, part III, pp. 326, 329, 334-35.

² *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XXX, part III, December 1952, p. 311. The cycle Siddharti corresponds with the year 1541 Śaka and not 1504 Śaka. The former date therefore seems to be nearer to truth.

³ For the inscriptions in the Gumbad, see *E.I.—Arabic and Persian Supplement* for 1951 and 52, pp. 41-43.

⁴ P. 313.

⁵ Pp. 331, 386, 384, 524.

⁶ *District Gazetteer of United Provinces*, vol. XI, Etawah, p. 226.

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

It is in Persian verse carved on the slab of red-sandstone measuring 6' 11" × 11", fixed over the main gate of the town. The script is *Nasta'liq* carved in relief. The epigraph consists of two lines, arranged in ten horizontal panels containing one hemistich each and assigns the foundation of the town of Yakdilābād to Yakdīl Khān. The chronogram is contained in the last line and yields the year 1039 A.H. (1629 A.D.). I read the text as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XIII (b)

- (۱) ک[ر] در عهد بادشاه[ه] جهان بهر آ[رام] خلق [آ]بادان
 (۲) یکدل آباد موضع دلکش [ر] شک [بغداد و ضد اصفهان]
 (۳) باغ و اشجار و سرو گلزارش خلد ثانی است فی المثل بجهان
 (۴) هر که یکدم [درو] بآ[ساید] میشود فا[رغ] [از] جفای [ز] مان
 (۵) جستیم [سال] تعمیرش [آمد] آ و [ا] سرای یکدلخان

TRANSLATION

(1-2) During the reign of the Emperor of the world ((Shāh Jahān), (Yakdīl) founded for the [comfort] of the public a charming place Yakdilābād, [which is the] envy [of Baghdād and the rival of Isfahan].

(3) [On account of its flourishing gardens and blooming cypress-trees and orchards] it is proverbially the second paradise on earth.

(4) Whosoever rests [therein] for a while feels immune from the terrors of the world.

(5) I sought.....[the year] of its construction; the voice [came]: *the inn of Yakdīl Khān*.

The last line which is badly worn out, contains the chronogram. The reading of the date is doubtful. The first word of the last hemistich has completely peeled off leaving a faint trace of it on the stone. After that only the letters "او" are distinct and at the end the words سرای are clearly readable. Thus the phrase reads as [آمد] آو[ا] سرای یکدلخان. Although one would be inclined to think that the words *Sarāi Yakdīl Khān* should be the chronogram of the monument, their numerical value according to *Abjad* calculations comes only to 986 A.H. or about 50 years before the commencement of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign during which the *sarāi* was actually set up. But if we add to this the numerical value of the words آمد آو[ا] as well, we get the year 1039 A.H. (1629-30 A.D.), which falls in the reign of Shāh Jahān.

Führer, as a passing remark, states that the gate of the town and the mosque were constructed in 1042 A.H., but he quotes no authority and so his version is also doubtful.¹

¹ I had an opportunity to visit Sarāi Ekdil and read the inscription *in situ*. Most of the words in relief have either peeled off or are badly damaged. However, I tried my best to trace the effaced text on the inscription slab and the words so supplied have been given in the brackets.

² *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the N. W. Provinces and Oudh*, p. 92.

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

The other Persian inscription is on an ordinary stone slab, measuring $2' 7\frac{1}{2}" \times 4' 3"$, fixed above the main door of the mosque of Yakdil Khān near the Ekdil Sarāi noticed above. The inscriptional slab is arch-shaped. On the top there are two circular medallions inscribed with the words یا کافی (O sufficient) and یافتاح (O opener). Beneath them appears the Throne Verse preceded by *Bismillāh* executed in *Naskh* characters in relief. The historical portion of the epigraph is contained in the last line, carved in *Nasta'liq* script in relief.

Unfortunately there is nothing traceable in the historical records about the personages referred to in the epigraph, but it appears that, as a man of note, Bhikan Khān was entrusted with the construction of the mosque of Yakdil Khān, the founder of the town of Yakdilābād and the Ekdil Sarāi, in the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān and that the mosque was completed in 1042 A.H. (1632 A.D.). The name of the scribe Muḥammad 'Alī, occurs at the end and the historical portion of the epigraph reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XIII (c)

(۱) بدور شاه جهان بادشاه کون مکان بنای مسجد خود ساخت بنده یکدل خان
 (۲) بکرم ایزد بیچون چو الصرام رسید باهتمام شجاع[ع]ت شعار بهیکن خان
 کتبه محمد علی
 سنه ۱۰۴۲

TRANSLATION

(1) During the time of Shāh Jahān, king of the universe, the slave Yakdil Khān founded his own mosque.

(2) (It was) completed by the grace of God under the supervision of the brave Bhikan Khān. Written by Muhammad 'Alī. Year 1042 (A.H.=1632 A.D.).

AN INSCRIPTION OF SHAH JAHAN FROM HAJO IN ASSAM

By Z. A. DESAI

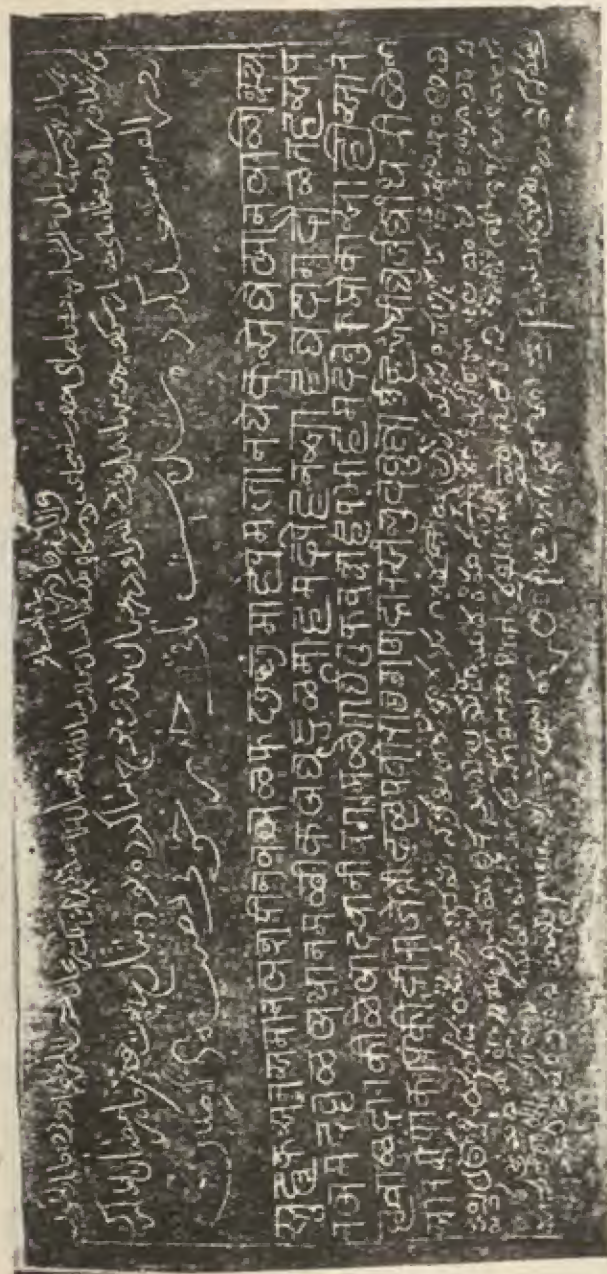
In 1953, the then Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions had secured an inked rubbing of an inscription from the mosque known today as Poa Mecca Mosque, situated on the summit of a hill near Hajo, a village on the left bank of the river Brahmaputra, about 15 miles by road from Gauhati. Hajo which seems to have been an important town in the days of old, is even today celebrated for its temple, dedicated to Siva, which stands in a picturesque situation on the top of a low hill.¹

The Director General of Archaeology in India had visited the place in February 1952, and the following brief account of the mosque is derived from his notes: The Poa Mecca mosque in mauza Hajo stands on the Garudachal hill. Its importance is derived from a grave, ascribed to Sultan Ghiyath-ud-Din Balban, a Muslim saint,² which lies some 20 feet to the west of the mosque. The

¹ *Imp. Gaz. of India*, XIII, p. 8. For an interesting account of Hajo hill or rather group of hills, see *J.A.S.B.* LXI, 1892, part I, pp. 35 ff. An incomplete reading of the present inscription along with its translation is given there, but it is not without mistakes.

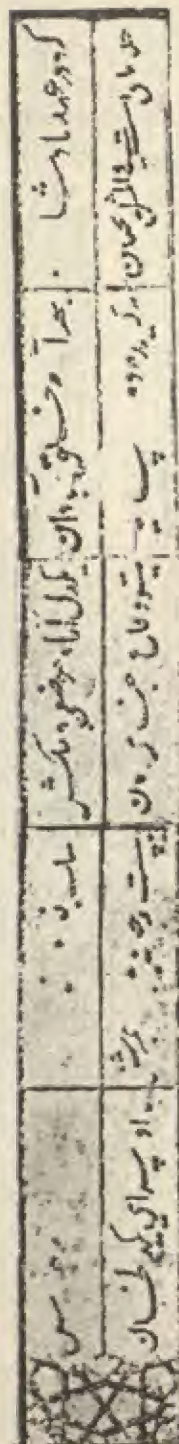
² The name of the saint is somewhat peculiar.

(a) From the bastion near the Sambhulingaswāmin temple, Siruguppa



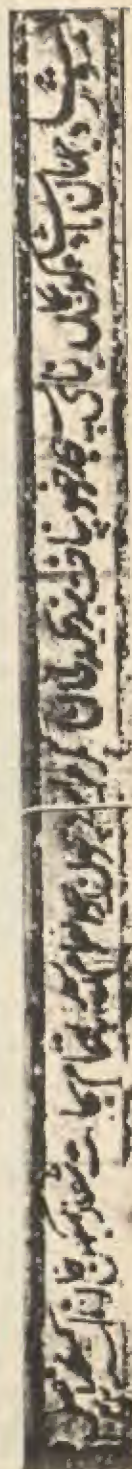
86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 59

(b) Over the main gate of the town. Ekdil



Scale: 102

(c) Over the main door of the mosque near Ekdil Sarai, Ekdil



(a) From the Poa Mecca Mosque, Hajo



Scale : .18

(b) Over the central mihrāb of the 'Idgāh, Mahuva



Scale : .15

terrace round the grave and the mosque which are constructed on a high plinth, has a parapet around, with pillars connected to each other by horizontal iron-track fencing. The mosque, as it stands today, was entirely rebuilt some ten years ago, but instead of trying to restore the facing and the fallen parts of the terrace, and preserve such features of the mosque as existed originally, it was pulled down and thoroughly reconstructed. The mosque and the grave are being maintained by a committee of 15 members, out of the revenue realised from the lands endowed for the purpose by Shah Shuja and the Emperor Aurangzeb.

The slab bearing the following inscription measures 4' 10" by 1' 8", and is fixed above the right panel over the northern door in the east wall. The historical portion of the epigraph is inscribed in Persian. The stone is divided into five horizontal panels. The first two of these contain the religious texts; the third panel is again cut into eight parts each containing a hemistich; the fourth panel was obviously to be divided into eight parts to contain eight more hemistiches but only three small panels were made while the remaining five hemistiches are inscribed in the undivided portion of this panel. The last panel contains a line in prose. The epigraph records the construction of the mosque by Luṭfu'llāh Shīrāzī during the reign of Shāh Jahān in 1067 A.H. (1657 A.D.). The script employed in the epigraph is *Nasta'liq* of a high order. The inscription has suffered considerably owing to inclemency of weather and passage of time.

TEXT

Plate XIV (a)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ - العمد لله رب العالمین و الصلوات و السلام علی رسولہ
محمد و آلہ اجمعین و اصحابہ الطاهرین - قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله
(۲) و الیوم الآخر و اقام الصلوات و آتی الزکوة و لم یخس الا الله فعی اولیک ان
یکونو من المهتدین و قال النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنی مسجدا فی الدنیا بنی الله له سبعین
مسجدا فی الآخرة

(۳)	بعهد دولت سلطان عادل	شہنشاہ جہان و خسروی دین
	ابو الغازی شجاع الدین محمد	شہ و شہزادہ فرخندہ آئین
	چو لطف الله شیرازی بنا کرد	ہمایون مسجدی چون خلد رنگین
	بدار الأمن مشہور مالک	شجاع آباد حفظ الله تامین
(۴)	به هنگامی کہ دایات عزیمت	به صوب بنگ بود از عز و تمکین
	مدام این خانہ دین باد معمور	بحق و حرمت جنات سبعین ^۱
	ز فیض نعمت اللہی قوی باد	ہمیشہ این مہین بنیاد سنگین
	خرد چون سال تاریخ بنا جست	ندا آمد جلی شد خانہ دین

(۵) برضامیر جویندگان اخبار پوشیدہ نماد کہ این مسجد اعظم در زمان حضرت صاحب
قران ثانی شاہ جہان بادشاہ غازی کمترین فدویان درگاہ مرید و معتقد شاہ نعمت الله لطف الله به
اکمام رسانید فی شہر رمضان سنہ ۱۰۶۷

^۱ See note 2 on the next page.

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. All praise is due to God, the Lord of the worlds; and blessings and peace be upon His Apostle, Muḥammad, and his descendents and his pious companions. God, the Most High says: The mosques of God shall be visited and maintained by such as believe in God.

(2) and the Last Day, establish regular prayers, and practise regular charity, and fear none (at all) except God. It is they who are expected to be on true guidance.¹ And the Prophet, may God's blessings and peace be upon him, has said: He who builds a mosque in (this) world, God builds for him seventy mosques in the hereafter.

(3) During the reign of the just king, the emperor of the world and the chief of Faith, Abū'l Ghāzī Shujā'u'd Dīn Muḥammad, the auspicious ruler and prince, when Luṭfu'llāh Shīrāzī founded (this) august mosque as beautiful as Paradise, at the 'abode of peace' celebrated throughout the countries viz., Shujā'-ābād, may God preserve it! Amen!

(4) (It was) at a time when the standards of (royal) intention were in the province of Bengal with glory and grandeur.

May this abode of Faith for ever prosper and flourish out of regard for and the sanctity of seven² paradises!

May this magnificent stone-edifice remain for ever strong through the grace of Ni'matu'llāh.

When Wisdom sought the year of its construction, a (heavenly) voice said: *The House of Faith has become manifest.*

(5) Let it not remain hidden from the minds of the seekers of news that the construction of this grand mosque was completed in the reign of His Majesty, the second Ṣāhib Qirān, Shāh Jahān Bādshāh, by Luṭfu'llāh, the humblest of the servants of the state, and a disciple and admirer of Shāh Ni'matu'llāh, in the month of Ramaḍān, 1067 (A.H.—Jun.-Jul. 1657 A.D.).

The date is also afforded by the chronogram contained in the words, 'The House of Faith has become manifest.'

Mir Luṭfu'llāh Shīrāzī, mentioned in the epigraph as the builder of the mosque, held the rank of 500, 300 horse, under Shāh Jahān,³ and was the *faujdar* of Kamrup during the governorship of Shāh Shujā' of Bengal. Towards the close of the year 1067 A.H., when the news of Shāh Jahān's protracted illness spread in the distant parts and far off places of the realm, Shujā' also proclaimed himself king and in his bid for the throne marched towards Patna and Bihar and thence to Banaras. In the chaos thus caused, the province of Kamrup was invaded by the *Rājā* of Kuch Bihar, while at the same time, the *Rājā* of Assam also sent a large force by land as well as water towards Kamrup. Luṭfu'llāh, finding himself surrounded by two enemies and despairing of any help, managed to rescue himself and reached Decca. The army of Kuch Bihar found itself challenged by the Assamese and beat a safe retreat, leaving Kamrup in the sole possession of the Assamese.⁴ The country was reconquered by Mir Jumla Mu'azzam Khān, the celebrated general of Aurangzeb a few years later.

Shāh Ni'matu'llāh whose disciple and admirer Mir Luṭfu'llāh was, is none other than Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Fīrūzpūri so called from his association with Firuzpur near Gaur where he died in

¹ Qur'an, IX, 18.

² سبعین as written here cannot be seventy, but in all probability it is سبع transcribed so.

³ *Bādshāh Nāma*, p. 747.

⁴ *Alamgir Nāma*, pp. 678-79; *Riyāḍu's Salāṭin*, pp. 218-19.

1080 A.H. (1669 A.D.).¹ He is reputed as a saint for whom Prince Shujā' had great respect.² Besides being a saint, he seems to have been something of a poet as well. It is said that on the day the order of transfer of the governorship of Bengal from Khanazād Khān to Nawwāb Mukarram Khān was being drawn up at Delhi, Shāh Ni'matu'llāh sent to Khanazād Khān, a *qaṣīda* which he had composed in his praise and in this *qaṣīda* there was one verse which gave Khanazād Khān an indication of his coming transfer. The transfer orders were received about a month after.³ He lies buried in a fine domed building adjacent to a small plain mosque on the bank of a large tank in Mahdipur, near Gaur.⁴

It appears from the epigraph that the town was named Shujā'-ābād, probably after the name of Prince Shujā', though we do not find mention of it by this name in contemporary historical works.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SULTANS OF GUJARAT FROM SAURASHTRA

By Z. A. DESAI

Saurashtra, the peninsular part of Gujarat, which had been for some time past called Kathiawar lies on the west coast of India between 20° 40' and 23° 25' north latitude and 69° 20' east longitude. Formerly divided into a number of native states, and now a Part B state under the Indian Republic, it contains architectural antiquities and monuments including a number of inscriptions and epigraphs spread over the whole state. Though isolated in its geographical position, Saurashtra has not remained free in the mediæval ages from the attacks without; 'the power that held sway on the mainland has generally always experienced suzerainty over the group of Hindu Princes, many of them of ancient lineage, who held sway in Kathiawar'. Junagarh, the 'most important capital city of the peninsula for over a thousand years', was the 'seat of the Fauzdars or Governors who administered it on behalf first of the Gujarat Sultans and later of the Mughal Viceroys at Ahmadabad'.⁵ This long association of the state with Muslim rule has resulted in the existence of a large number of buildings and monuments bearing Persian and Arabic inscriptions, some of which, collected from several places in the state during my recent tour are studied here.

Most of these inscriptions have suffered much on account of weather and sea-climate, though their present damaged state is not less due to neglect and lack of care. It is surprising that these inscriptions should have escaped the notice of scholars as well as archaeological authorities in the past. Even today, the state of these epigraphs is far from being satisfactory, and the Archaeological Department of Saurashtra should take necessary steps to arrest their further deterioration by protecting them.

An earlier attempt to copy and study these inscriptions when they were in a better state might have proved very useful inasmuch as portions which do not admit of decipherment now could have been read then. The former state of Bhavnagar had, no doubt, taken a lead in this matter by publishing the texts, without facsimiles, of some inscriptions from Saurashtra and a few more from Gujarat as early as in 1886 in the form of a small book entitled *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*.

¹ H. Beveridge, *J. A. S. B.*, LXIV, 1895, where a detailed notice of the *Kh̄irābād-i-Jahān Namā* by S. Ilāhi Bakhsh al-Husaini Angrezābādī occurs. This book contains a biography of Shāh Ni'matu'llāh (p. 197). For inscriptions mentioning Shāh Ni'matu'llāh and copied from this book, see p. 201. Also see, T. W. Beale, *Miftāhu'l-Tawdrīkh*, p. 274.

² *Riyāḍ*, p. 217.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁴ *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1896), p. 446.

⁵ Commissariat, M. S., *History of Gujarat*, I, v.

Though it was a singular service done to the cause of Arabic and Persian Epigraphy, for which students of Gujarat History in general and epigraphy in particular must ever remain indebted, it must be said that the work lacks that scientific and proper study of inscriptions which should mark a work of this nature, not to speak of a number of mistakes of print and otherwise, that have crept in. After that date, however, nobody gave any thought to these inscriptions and many others that might exist unknown to us, with the result that not only their condition has deteriorated but in some cases, inscriptions have totally disappeared. Thus, for example, the inscription from Pāñch Bibī's Kotha, at Somnath Patan, and another from Ḥasan Pir's Dargāh at Talaja, the latter belonging to the reign of the last Sultan of Gujarat, could not be traced.

The *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, as already remarked, is too full of mistakes and misreadings, especially of dates, to be relied upon as a source of historical research, and in fact, it has mislead some scholars. It was therefore felt that these inscriptions should be re-edited along with a few hitherto unpublished inscriptions that have been only recently found.

I have divided them into three groups: First of inscriptions that belong to pre-Sultanate period, second, of those belonging to the Sultanate period, and the third of those dealing with the post-Sultanate period. The second group has been dealt with in this article, the other two being reserved for the subsequent numbers of this journal. All the Gujarat Sultans except Muḥammad I, Dā'ūd, Sikandar, Maḥmūd II and Muẓaffar III are represented by the inscriptions studied below. The reigns of Muḥammad I, Dā'ūd, Sikandar and Maḥmūd II were too short-lived to possess any such records, while Muẓaffar III had, from the very beginning of his reign, to experience quite a vicissitude of fortune until his tragic death in 1000 A.H. An inscription mentioning him is reported to have existed in Talaja but is now no more traceable.

A study of the following inscriptions will show that four of them bear their respective dates preceded by the words *Shuhūr San*. This confronts us with a problem as to whether *Shuhūr* era is meant by this expression, or simply the scribe inadvertently inscribed these words without knowing anything about *Shuhūr San*. The dates preceded by the words *Shuhūr San* in these epigraphs are 860, 938, 962, and 946 (the reading of this last date is doubtful). In all these cases, the months are also given; so, on the face of it, it would appear that the *Shuhūr* era and not the *Hijra* one is meant. Now, if the *Shuhūr* era is meant, it would obviously have to be identical with the one in vogue in Deccan, since we do not have any specific information regarding its reckoning in Gujarat. The first three of these inscriptions bear the names of the ruling monarchs. These dates, if taken as of *Shuhūr* era, would fall out of the reigns of the respective kings. To be clear, 860 is the date of Quṭb-ud Dīn Aḥmad II's inscription. *Shuhūr* 860 would mean 864 A.H., but Maḥmūd I, who had succeeded Aḥmad II in 862 A.H., was the ruling king then; likewise, 938 is the date of the inscription of Bahādur Shāh who died in 943 A.H., while the corresponding *Hijra* year of 938 *Shuhūr* era would be 944; similarly, 962 is the date of the inscription of Sulṭān Aḥmad III. The *Shuhūr* 962 would correspond to 969 A.H., while that monarch was killed in 968 A.H. In view of this, the mention of the word *Shuhūr* seems more due to conventional mode of writing than otherwise.

Muzaffar Shah

I.—INSCRIPTION FROM VERAVAL

This bilingual record is incised on a slab of stone measuring 2'6" by 1'6" which is fixed into the inner face of the west wall of the mortuary of a small unpretentious tomb of Maghribī Shāh, situated near the Customs house at Veraval. The Persian version is composed of four lines in Persian prose, while the Sanskrit one, incised below, consists of three lines. The Persian record mentions the construction of the city-wall and a guard-room which was started in 810 A.H. during the reign of Zafar Khān Shams-ud Dunyā wa'd Din Muẓaffar Shāh, the second Sultan of Gujarat and was brought to completion in the following year. The Sultan is mentioned with his pre-kingship

as well as his royal titles, the latter without his *kunyat* which was, according to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Abū'l Mujaḥid.¹ The inscription is apparently not *in situ*. It appears to have been removed from its original place which may have been a guard-room in the city-wall of the town. The builder is Faḍlu'llāh Aḥmad Abū Rajā,² who is also mentioned in an inscription of Sultan Aḥmad I.³

TEXT

Plate XV (a)

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - بتاریخ چهاردهم ماه شوال سنه عشر و ثمانمائه بنا این
حصار و خانه
(۲) در عهد خان اعظم ظفر خان وجیه الملک شمس الدنیا و الدین مظفر شاه السلطان
(۳) بعهد داری [و] فرمایش ملک فضل الله احمد ابو رجا و در بیست هفتم ماه ربیع
الاول سنه احدی عشر و ثمانمائه مرتب شده
(۴) هر که برسد بدعاء سلامتی ایمان این ضعیف را یاد کند و فاتحه الکتاب بخواند

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. On the 14th of the month of Shawwāl (of the) year 810 (A.H. or 13th March 1408 A.D.), the building of this city-wall and house (2-3) (was commenced) during the reign of Khān-i-A'zam Zafar Khān, son of Wajīhu'l Mulk, Shamsu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Muzaḥḥar Shāh, the King, under the supervision and order of Malik Faḍlu'llāh Aḥmad Abū Rajā, and was completed on the 27th of Rabi' I, year 811 (A.H. or 20th Aug. 1408 A.D.).

(4) Let whoever visits this, remember this weak (slave) with the prayers for the safety of his Faith, and recite the *Fātiḥa* (opening chapter) of the Book (i.e., the Quran).

Sanskrit version⁴

TEXT

1. Saṁvat 1464 varshē Chaitra vadi 2.....Śrī-Śrī Dapharṣhā(khā) na....Sāha
2. Mudāpharasulatāna-vijayarājyē mahāmālika-Śrī-Phajārāla-Ahamada a.....kāra-
3. pitam Śrāvaṇa vadi 13 nishpana (nna) ḥ || Śubhaṁ bhavatu maṅgalam-astu||

Note

Damaged. Refers to the Saṁvat year 1464, chaitra vadi 2 and the victorious reign of Dapharashā(khā) na.....Mudāphara Sulatāna, when something was caused to be made by Phajārāla Ahamada. The work was completed on Śrāvaṇa vadi 13.

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Bibl. Ind.), vol. III, p. 93.

² Abū Rajā is a *kunyat*. We are told by Sayyid Hāshim bin Kamālu'd Dīn Muḥammad, the author of *Shāhī's Sādāt* that Abū Rajā is the *kunyat* of 'Abdu'r Raḥmān, son of Amīrī'l Mu'mīn Abī Bakr, and that Khudāwand Khān Siddiqī, a *qazī* of Zafar Khān was known as Abū Rajā'l (*Nasā-i-Adab*, Bombay, vol. V, no. 3, pp. 57-58). Shams Sirāj 'Afif says: Abūrajāyān are a group of people from up-country (*Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind., p. 454). It appears that Faḍlu'llāh Aḥmad was known as Abū Rajā because he claimed descent from the above mentioned 'Abdu'r Raḥmān, and very possibly the term Abū Rajā had passed on into something of a family name. Shamsu'd Dīn Abū Rajā, far more celebrated than Faḍlu'llāh was a notable grandee of Firūz and was also for sometime the *nāyib* of Gujarat.

³ *Corpus Insc. Bhavnagari*, p. 20. This inscription, originally from Somnath Patan, is now preserved in the State Museum, Junagarh.

⁴ The transcript of this version alongwith a note on it was kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist, Ootacamund, to whom I am grateful.

The inscriptions of Zafar Khān so far published do not represent him as a king. Hence this inscription which bears his name and royal titles possesses a special importance and furnishes us with a firsthand evidence for the fact that Zafar Khān was already an independent king in the second half of the year 810 A.H. This raises an interesting question as to when did Zafar Khān assume independence? The *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari*, *Firishta* and the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* give 810 A.H. as the year in which Zafar Khān declared his independence and assumed the title of a king.¹ The Cambridge History of India, however, puts the date a few years earlier. According to it, 'the kingdom of Gujarat was established in 1396 A.D. In 1396, the strife between two rival kings Mahmūd Shah and Nusrat Shah and the impossibility of determining to whom the allegiance was due, furnished him (i.e., Zafar Khan) with the pretext for declaring himself independent.' This statement appears hardly to be correct. For, apart from the statements of the *Mir'āt*, *Firishta* and the *Tabaqāt*, there is sufficient epigraphical evidence to show that Zafar Khān did not declare his independence in 1396 nor was there any impossibility of determining to whom the allegiance was due—to Maḥmūd Shāh or Nuṣrat Shāh. An epigraph from Mangrol, dated 797 A.H., mentions Nuṣrat Shāh as the ruling king and Zafar Khān as the governor of Gujarat.² Another record, from Ghogha near Bhavnagar, dated in the same year, also mentions Nuṣrat Shāh as the ruling monarch and Zafar Khān as the governor.³ Fortunately, we have another inscription of Zafar Khān mentioning him as *muqṭi'* of the province of Gujarat, as late as in 807 A.H.⁴ which goes to corroborate the statements of the *Mir'āt* etc. that even after the death of Tātār Khān (or Muḥammad Shāh I) who was the first to enjoy kingship of Gujarat, though only for a period of two months from Jumādi II to Sha'bān 806 A.H. (December 1403 to March 1404 A.D.), Zafar Khān did not assume royalty. It was only in 810 that urged by the nobles of Gujarat, he assumed kingship.⁵

Ahmad Shah I

Muzaffar I was succeeded by his grandson Aḥmad Shāh, the celebrated founder of the city of Ahmadabad. He is supposed to have ascended the throne of Gujarat on the 14th Ramaḍān 813 A.H. or 10th Januāry 1411 A.D.⁶ The gap of some six to seven months between the dates of the death of Muzaffar Shāh as given in the *Mir'āt* and of the accession of Sultan Aḥmad has not been taken due notice of, and is not referred to by Professor Commissariat in his monumental work on the history of Gujarat, a latest work on the subject; the learned professor accepts the date of death of Muzaffar given in the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari*, viz., Šafar 813 A.H. or June-July 1410 A.D. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* and *Firishta* give the date of his death as Šafar 814 A.H. The question therefore arises as to which of these two dates is correct. If the earlier date is accepted, the gap of seven months as already mentioned cannot be accounted for. The throne of Gujarat could not have remained unoccupied for about seven months, since Sultan Aḥmad, the legal heir, is not reported in any history to have been away at that time from the capital. The *Tabaqāt*, however, states that Muzaffar invested his grandson with kingship during his life-time and lived for five months and sixteen days after the accession of Sultan Aḥmad. Under the circumstances, the account of the *Tabaqāt* appears to be correct.

¹ Dr Chaghtai, in his *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad* (Poona, 1942), p. 11 writes on the authority of the *Mir'āt* that 'after ruling for a period of three years and seven months Zafarkhān died in the month of Šafar, 813 A.H. (M.S. 19) which is wrong. What *Mir'āt* says is that he assumed kingship in 810 A.H., three years and seven months after the date of the death of his son.

² Vol. III, pp. 294-95.

³ *Corp. Ins. Bhar.*, p. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7, where the date is incorrectly read as 777 A.H.

⁵ *E.I.M.*, 1939-40, pp. 2-3.

⁶ *M.S.*, p. 19; *T.A.*, III, p. 92.

⁷ *M.S.*, p. 22; *T.A.*, III, p. 95; Commissariat, *opp. cit.*, p. 79.

Thus, though there is no mention in historical works regarding the reduction of this part of Saurashtra by Sultan Ahmad, it appears from this inscription that within the first few years of his reign, the eastern Saurashtra was included within the Sultan's territories. Historical works are likewise silent regarding Malik Jauhar, who as his very title suggests, must have been a noble of first rank. Professor Commissariat who follows the *Bombay Gazetteer* speaks of the inscription thus: An old mosque contains an inscription in Arabic dated *Sur San* 826 (A.D. 1425) in the region of Sultan Ahmad stating that the mosque was built by one Malik Asarul Mulk bin Malik Jauhar.¹ It will be seen that the epigraph is not dated *Sur San*, the date is not 826 and lastly, the name of the builder is not Malik Asaru'l Mulk, son of Malik Jauhar.

III.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE RECORD OFFICE, MANGROL

The second inscription of Sultan Ahmad is stored in the Record Office, Mangrol. Mangrol, formerly the seat of the Mangrol State and now a sub-divisional headquarter in Sorath District is situated on the shore of the Arabian sea in about 70° 10' east longitude and 21° 7' north latitude. A city of antiquity, it is supposed by some to be the Monoglossum of Ptolemy.² It contains a number of Persian and Arabic inscriptions mostly belonging to the Tughluq period and earlier period of the Gujarat Sultanate. Most of these inscriptions were removed by the former State authorities to the Record Office which is housed in a portion of the palatial Durbāgarh. The present epigraph is one of them. It is reported to have been 'raised on the *chotra* in the graveyard near the Gādī gate at Mangrol'.³ The slab of sandstone measuring 1' 10" by 1' is subjected to much damage caused by sea-climate and also by wear and tear of time. Its letters were found almost broken when it was noticed in the *Corpus*; they are much more effaced now. The epigraph comprises four lines in Persian executed in relief in *Naskh* with a *Tughra* flourish. It records the construction of a mosque and *Jamā'at Khāna* during the reign of Sultan Ahmad I. The name of the builder is *Khūnd Shah Shams*, son of *Dā'ūd*, son of *Shams*. The date is most probably 828 A.H. The name of the superintendent is *Amir Quṭb*, son of 'Ālam.

TEXT

Plate XV (b)

- (۱) عمارت این مسجد و جماعتخانه در عهد دولت بندگی شاه عالم پناه ناصر الدین و الدین
ابوالفتح احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان
(۲) و بانی خانه ؟ مذکورہ بندہ ملک الشرق ملک بندگی فتح خان الراجی ؟ الی
رحمة الله تعالى
(۳) خوند شه شمس بن داؤد بن شمس است من ماه محرم شہور سنہ ثمان ؟ عشرين و
ثمانیہ ازين قرض ؟
(۴) بکار فرمائی امیر قطب بن عالم لوالديه و له ؟

TRANSLATION

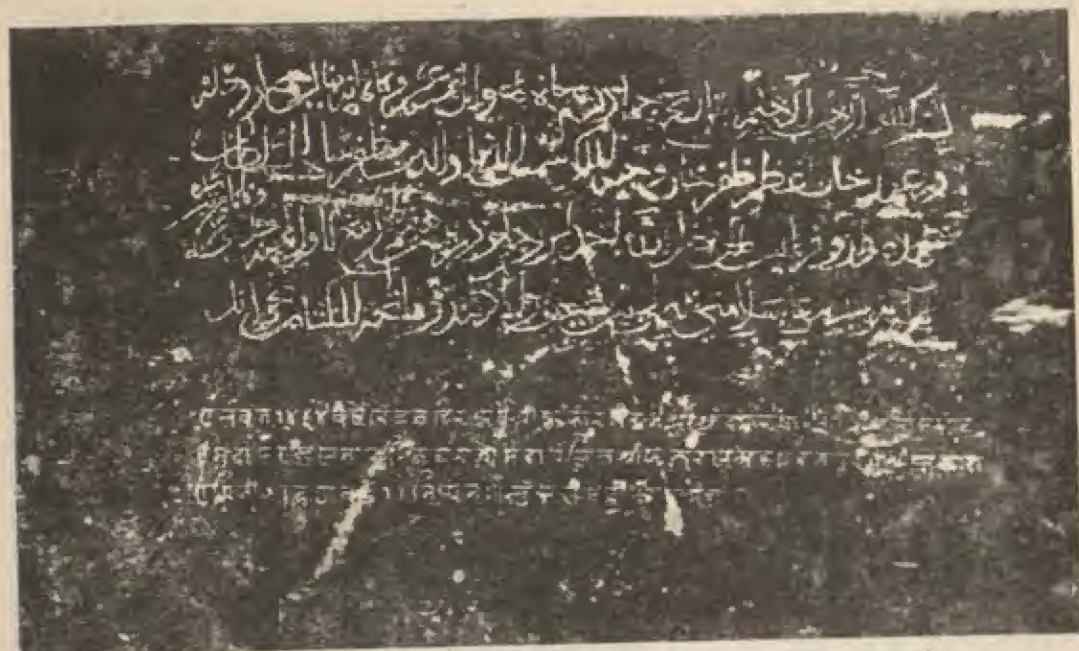
(1) The construction of this mosque and *Jamā'at Khāna* (took place) in the reign of His Majesty the King, Refuge of the world, Nāṣiru'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Abū'l Faṭḥ Ahmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the King.

¹ *Opp. cit.*, p. 123.

² *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, p. 542.

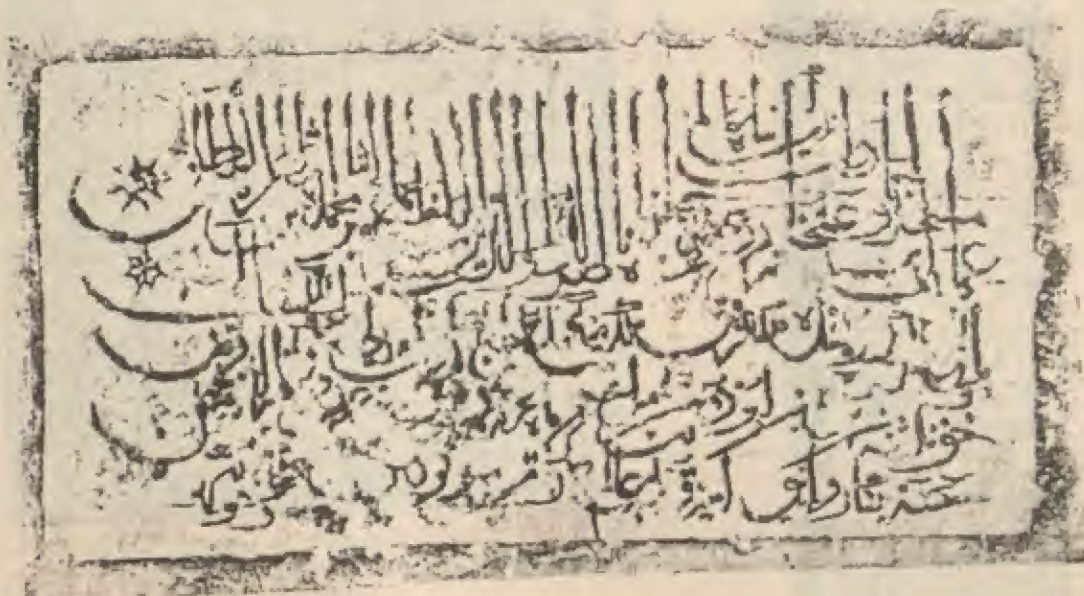
³ *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, p. 21 where a very imperfect reading is given.

(a) From the tomb of Maghribi Shāh, Veraval



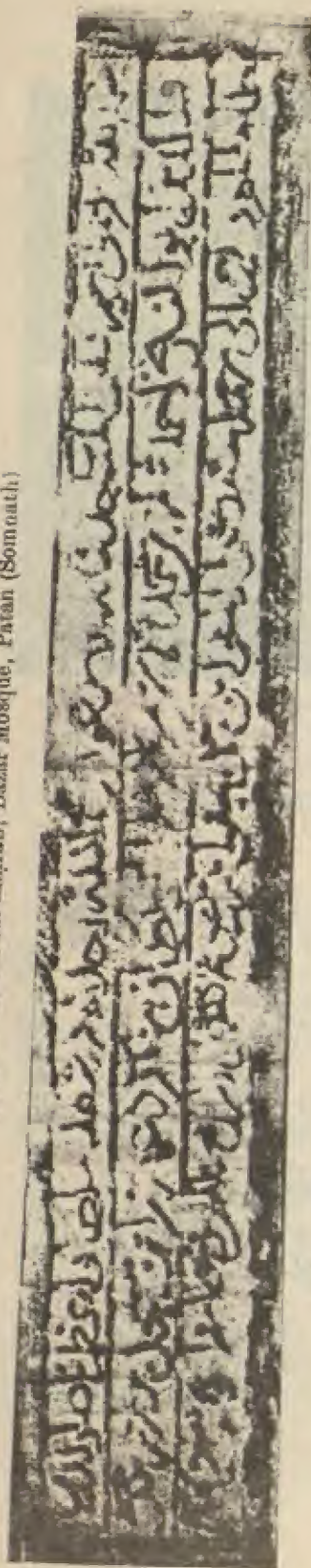
Scale: 1/2

(b) From the Record Office, Mongrol



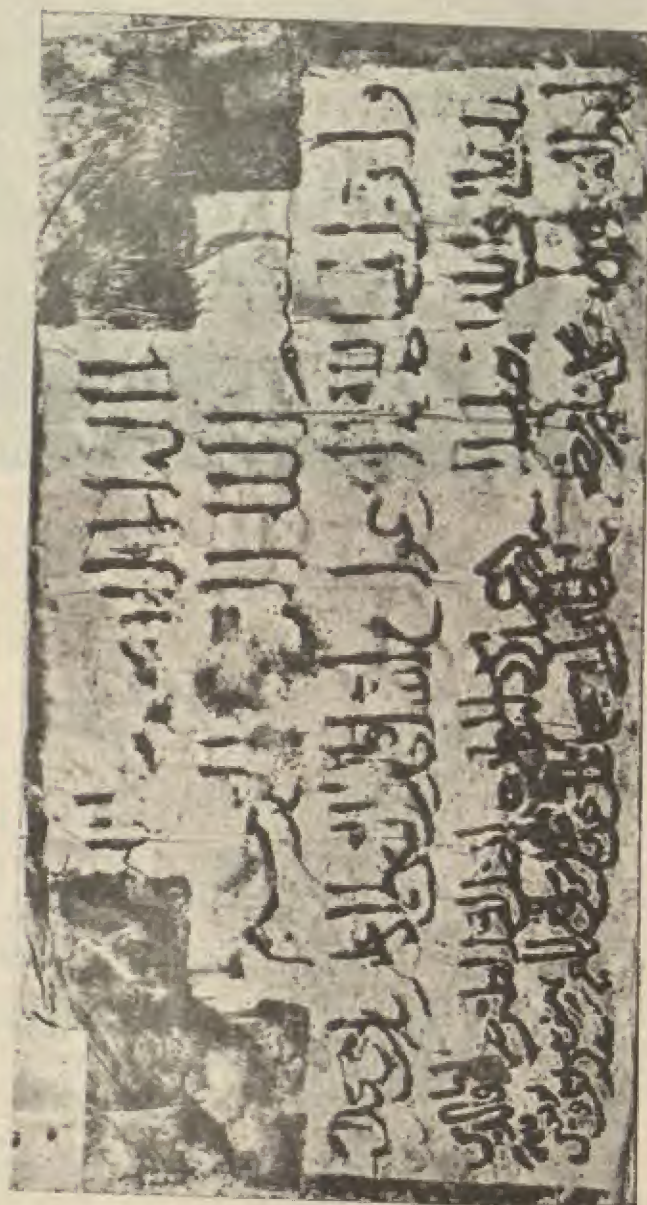
Scale: 1/25

(a) Over the central mihrāb, Bazar Mosque, Patan (Somnath.)



Scale : 2

(b) From the Jāmi' Mosque, Wadhwan City



Scale : 33

(2) And the builder of the said house is the servant of the great Malik Maliku'sh Sharq, the exalted Malik, Fath Khān,¹ (viz.) hopeful of the mercy of God,

(3) Khūnd Shāh Shams, son of Dā'ūd, son of Shams. In the month of Muḥarram, eight hundred and twenty-eight (?) (1424 A.D.).....

(4) under the superintendence of Amīr Quṭb, son of 'Ālam.....

IV.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE BAZAR MOSQUE, PATAN

The third inscription of Aḥmad Shāh is found engraved on a slab of marble put up over the central *miḥrāb* of a small unpretentious mosque in Patan.² The Bazar Mosque, as it is called these days, is an old structure having no pretence to any architectural distinction. The *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*³ speaks of an inscription which was 'placed in the mosque near the residence of the police officer of Veraval' in or before 1886, the year in which that work was published. Extensive search for the recovery of this inscription in the course of my visit to Veraval yielding no result, I thought that the inscription had disappeared. When I came across this inscription in its present place, which is hardly at a distance of two miles from Veraval, it struck to me that the text of this inscription as also the measurements of the slab and the lines into which it was divided bore striking similarity to the inscription from Veraval as given in the *Oxygus*. After a careful comparison, I have come to the conclusion that the present epigraph is the same as the one from Veraval, where it was probably lying loose and was later shifted to and fixed on the present mosque to which it may have originally belonged.

The epigraph is greatly damaged; many of the letters have either peeled off or become indistinct, especially in the last line which contains the name of the builder. The date portion is too damaged to admit of any final reading. It records the erection of a mosque in the reign of Sultan Aḥmad Shāh in 839 (?) A.H.

The style of writing is *Naskh* of an ordinary type and the language is Persian prose. The tablet measures 3'11" by 7". It has been rendered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVI (a)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَ أَنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا - در عهد سلطان اعظم ناصر الدنيا

(۲) وَ الدین ابو الفتح احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان بنا کرد عمارت این مسجد برادر ملک

(۳) عطا طاهر الى رحمه ابن تم ذلك في الرابع و العشرين ؟ شهر رمضان تسع و ثلثين ؟ و ثمانماية

¹ For Prince Fath Khān, mentioned in an inscription of the same king in the same place, see no. VI below.

² Patan or Prabhas Patana, where the celebrated temple of Somnath attracts a large number of visitors throughout the year is situated on the Arabian Sea. It is connected by road with Veraval which is the terminus on the Veraval-Virangam section of the Western Railway. Patan seems to have been for a considerable time the seat of *faujdhars* under the Gujarat Sultans. A number of Persian and Arabic inscriptions from this place have been removed to the State Museum, Junagarh.

³ *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, p. 23.

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. And verily, the mosques are for God (only); hence, invoke not anyone else alongwith God. In the reign of the great King, Nāṣiru'd Dunyā

(2) wa'd Dīn Abū'l Fath Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the King, the building of this mosque was constructed by the brother of Malik

(3) 'Aṭā, (viz.) Ṭāhir towards the mercy of.....son of.....
This was completed on the 24th (?) of the month of Ramādān, 839 (?) (A.H.=11th Apr. 1436 A.D.).

The *Corpus* reads the name of the builder as 'Malik Husain Muẓaffar Hussani' and the date as 'Rabi II of the year 834 A.H.'¹

V.—FROM THE JĀMI' MOSQUE, WADHWAN CITY

The city of Wadhwan, District Jhalawad, is situated on the northern branch of the Bhogavo river and is one of the most ancient places in Saurashtra.² It is an intermediate station on the Bhavnagar-Surendranagar branch of the Western Rly.

In the principal mosque of the city—a small building without much architectural beauty—that seems to have undergone considerable repairs from time to time are to be found three inscriptions. The one over the central *mihrāb* belongs to the reign of Aḥmad Shāh's son and successor, Muḥammad Shāh, when this mosque was constructed. The other two are fixed into the east wall, to the left of the doorway, immediately above a platform of brick and mortar covered with plaster—a later addition, of course—occupying the southern end of the *ṣaḥn* of the mosque. These two inscriptions were lying loose formerly,³ but were probably fixed up in their present place when the platform was constructed. Whether these two inscriptions belonged to the same mosque or not is not certain, but the better preserved of the two, one that is being studied here, is said to have originally belonged to a mosque within the Darbār enclosure but now used for a granary.⁴

According to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, it has the date *Sursan* 840 corresponding to A.D. 1439, and mentions that the builder of the mosque was Malik Muhammad bin Malik Musa.....⁵ This statement, accepted and quoted by Professor Commissariat⁶ is wrong in two places: firstly, the date of the epigraph is 842 and not *Sursan* 840; secondly, the name of the builder is Malik Shaikhān.

The present inscriptional slab measures 2'2" by 1'2" and is of black polished stone. The record states that during the reign of Nāṣiru'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Aḥmad Shāh, a mosque was constructed by Malik Shaikhān, son of Malik Mūsā, on the 20th of Sha'bān 842 A.H. (1439 A.D.). The language of the epigraph, except that of the religious text which is in Arabic, is Persian. It has been rendered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVI (b)

لا اله الا الله [محمد رسول] الله (١)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٢)

¹ P. 23.

² For a detailed account of the city and its history, see *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, pp. 691-701; Commissariat, *opp. cit.*, pp. 123-25.

³ *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, p. 693.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 693. The other inscription, not *in situ*, is too damaged now to admit of any decipherment.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Opp. cit.*, p. 123.

- (۳) و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى مسجدا
 (۴) لله تعالى بنى الله له قصرا في الجنة در عهد دولت سليمان جاء افضل السلاطين ناصر الدنيا و الدين
 (۵) ابو الفتح احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان باني مسجد ملك شيخن بن ملك موسى في العشرين من شعبان سنة اثني و اربعين و ثمانماية

TRANSLATION

- (1) There is no god but God ; Muḥammad is the prophet of God.
 (2) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
 (3) And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ; hence, invoke not anyone else with God. Says the Prophet, may God's blessings and peace be on him : He who builds a mosque
 (4) for God the Exalted, God builds for him a palace in Paradise. During the reign of Solomon in dignity, the most accomplished of kings, Nāṣiru'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn
 (5) Abū'l Faṭḥ Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the King, the builder of this mosque (is) Malik Shaikhān, son of Malik Mūsā. On the 20th of Sha'bān, year eight hundred and forty-two (A.H.=5th Feb. 1439 A.D.).

VI.—INSCRIPTION NOW STORED IN THE RECORD OFFICE, MANGROL

The last inscription of Aḥmad Shāh comes from Mangrol. It is said to have been originally built up in the wall near the Gādī gate¹ which no longer exists. It consists of thirteen lines of Persian prose, inscribed on a slab of yellow sandstone (2' by 11") in *Naskh* characters of a pleasing type ; small decorative motifs comprising geometrical and foliage designs are embossed in the first five lines. The language of the epigraph is, however, of an inferior type and not very clear. The epigraph is damaged in certain places especially in the last line containing the date. It records an order issued in the reign of Aḥmad I, by Prince Faṭḥ Khān, prohibiting certain illegal practices enjoined by the local authorities.

It has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVII (a)

- (۱) در عهد بادشاه روی زمین ناصر
 (۲) الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح احمد شاه سلطان [ن]
 (۳) که احداث نامشروع از وقت کفار باز در
 (۴) تصدی منگولور وجه مردار کشی بنام بعضی
 (۵) تعیین بود چون شاهزاده [۱] عظم فتحخان مد الله عمره
 (۶) برای فتح قلعه گرنال عزیمت فرمودند کیفیت

¹ Corp. Insc. Bhav., p. 56.

- (۷) احداث مذکور ملک علاء سهراب و صوفی رکن
 (۸) و همیر هرداج و جیسا سیتنه قصبه با مهاجن معزز ؟
 (۹) در سمع بندگی خان اعظم باز نمودند اشارت
 (۱۰) شد تا بروفق التماس کارکنان پروانه
 (۱۱) [کرد] دهند تا بعد ازین تاریخ در گرد اینچنین
 (۱۲) نامشروع نگردند بر حکم پروانه روند فی
 (۱۳) الرابع عشر من ؟ شهر ربیع الآخر سنه [خمس اربعین ؟] ثمانمائه

TRANSLATION

- (1) (It was) in the reign of the King of the surface of the earth, Nāṣir-
 (2) u'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Abū'l Faṭḥ Aḥmad Shāh, the King,
 (3) that the innovation of illegal (practices) of the time of the infidels (were) again (prevalent)
 in
 (4) the town of Manglor, (for example) the levy of removing the carrion of animal was fixed
 in the name of certain.....
 (5) When the great Prince Faṭḥ Khān, may God grant him a long life,
 (6-9) started for the conquest of the fort of Gīrnāl,¹ Malik 'Alā-i-Suhrāb, Ṣūfī Rukn, Hamīr Har
 Rāj and Jaisā, *Seth* of the town, with other *Mahājān* narrated the account of the said innovation.
 An order
 (10) was issued to the effect that in accordance with the request, the officers should issue a
parwāna
 (11) so that henceforth they should not observe such an
 (12) illegal (practice) and should abide by the order of the *parwāna*. On
 (13) the 14th (?) of the month of Rabī' II, year forty-five (?) and eight hundred (1st Sep.
 1441 A.D.).

The inscription, as has been already stated, does not belong to the Mughul period as is mentioned in the *Corpus*, but to the reign of Sultan Aḥmad I. The last line is too much obliterated to admit of a final reading. However, there can be no doubt about the words ثمانمائه at the end. As regards the persons mentioned in the inscription, 'Alā-i-Suhrāb is perhaps the same 'Alā, son of Suhrāb who some years later figured prominently in the history of Gujarat. He was *thānādār* of Sultanpur, and when Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa attacked that town in the course of his expedition to Gujarat, he surrendered after some fight. However, when Maḥmūd Khaljī reached Kapadvanj, 'Alā-i-Suhrāb fled to Quṭb'u'd Dīn Aḥmad II, the then Gujarat Sultan, who conferred upon him the title of 'Alā'u'l Mulk. Later on, he received the title of Ulugh Khān.² About other personages mentioned in the inscription we possess no information.

The epigraph is historically important. It has been referred to in the *Bombay Gazetteer*,³ but Prof. Commissariat who has also utilised the *Corpus* does not refer to it, having been perhaps misled by the wrong interpretation given in that book. The expedition to Gīrnar led by Prince Faṭḥ Khān which none of the extant works on Gujarat history mentions, is referred to in this unique record and as such its importance is considerable despite the fact that no details regard-

¹ It is significant that no mention of the name Junagarh is made.

² *M.S.*, pp. 51, 57, 70, Hājī Dabir, *Zafar-i Walāh bi Muzaḥḥar wa Alik*, pp. 4, 5, 10.

³ *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, p. 544.

ing its result or consequence are forthcoming. As regards Prince Fath Khān also, historical works do not afford us much help. The *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari* mentions one Prince Hūshang Fath Khān, an uncle of Sultan Ahmad I,¹ while the *Ṭabaqāt* and *Firishṭa* mention Prince Fath Khān, a son of the Sultan in connection with his marriage with the daughter of the chief of Mahim in about 836 A.H.² This latter is perhaps the Prince mentioned in the present epigraph. A very interesting piece of information that emerges out of this inscription is the mention of the names of Hamir Hār Rāj and Jaisā, the *Seth* of the town, and also of the *mahājan*. The *mahājan* of the towns—a body of respectable and leading persons mostly belonging to the trading and business community has been always voicing local grievances on behalf of the public. Even today, the *mahājan* is a powerful body in many a town and village of Gujarat including Saurashtra.

Muhammad Shah II

Ahmad Shāh was succeeded, on his death in 846 A.H., by his eldest son, who ascended the throne with the titles Abū'l Maḥamid Ghiyāthu'd Dīn Muḥammad Shāh. He died in 855 A.H.

VII.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE RECORD OFFICE AT MANGROL

This inscription is carved in relief on a yellow sandstone measuring 1'6" by 1'1" which is now lying in the Record Office. This inscription is not noticed so far and the Record Office does not have any record regarding its findspot. The epigraph has greatly suffered from the weather and sea-climate, which fact is mainly responsible for its letters having been effaced. It consists of nine lines in Persian prose and is inscribed in *Naskh*. It seems to record the remission of some levy or tax, but which one is not clear. It does not begin with the usual *Bismillāh* nor does it contain any regal titles of the king; the benedictory phrases are also absent in the epigraph. It however contains the name of the scribe, a practice not so commonly followed in the inscriptions of Gujarat. It may be read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVII (b)

- | | |
|--|------|
| در عهد سلطان السلاطین محمد شاه | (۱) |
| ابن احمد شاه سلطان سنه ثمان و اربعین | (۲) |
| و ثمانمایه کوتوال | (۳) |
| نصبه منگاور می سند ملک معز الملک ؟ | (۴) |
| علی اکبر صوفی و قاضی زین [ابن] احمد ؟ از | (۵) |
| کوتوال ... دور ؟ کرده و گذاشته بعد | (۶) |
| ازین نستانند و معاف دانند هر گاه | (۷) |
| ستانند عهد خدا و عهد رسول شکسته | (۸) |
| باشند کاتب | (۹) |
| محمد بن | (۱۰) |

¹ *M.S.*, p. 64.

² *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* (Nawalkishore), I, p. 189; *Ṭabaqāt*, III, p. 122. The *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, pp. 516-17 gives a popular account of Fath Khān's governorship of Mangrol, his being displeased with his father, his going into outlawry, his coming to Bhadrod with his five wives, etc., but does not quote the source.

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the reign of Sultān of Sultāns, Muḥammad Shāh,
- (2) son of Aḥmad Shāh, the King, (in) the year forty-eight
- (3) and eight hundred (1444-45 A.D.)..... *Kūtawāl*
- (4) of the town of Manglor.....took..... Malik Mu'izzu'l Mulk
- (5) 'Alī Akbar Ṣūfī and Qāḍī Zain, son of Aḥmad against
- (6) the *Kūtawāl*.....removed and remitted. After
- (7) this, they should not demand (it) and should deem (it) remitted. If
- (8-9) they demand, they will (incur the sin of) having violated the pledge of God and the pledge of His Prophet. The writer
- (10) (is) Muḥammad, son of

The persons mentioned in the epigraph, 'Alī Akbar Ṣūfī and Qāḍī Zain do not find any mention in the historical works of Gujaraṭ accessible to us; they appear to have been men of at least local importance.

VIII.—FROM THE JĀMĪ MOSQUE, WADHWAN CITY

The other inscription of Muḥammad Shāh is fixed over the central *mihrāb* of the Jāmī Mosque, as has been already referred to.¹ It is executed in fine *Naskh* characters with a *Tughra* flourish. It comprises three lines in Arabic and mentions the construction of the mosque in 851 A.H., during the reign of Ghiyāthud Dunyā wa'd Din Muḥammad Shāh by Maliku'sh Sharq Malik Sa'du'l Mulk Mubārak Hilāl Sultānī.² We have no information regarding the latter, who must have occupied a prominent position; it is possible that at this period he might have held this region—Jhalawad—in his fief.

The inscriptional slab measures 2'11" by 11".

TEXT

Plate XVIII (a)

- (١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَ إِنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا قَالَ
النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا لِلَّهِ تَعَالَى بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ
- (٢) قَصْرًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ بَنَى هَذِهِ الْعِمَارَةَ الْمَسْجِدَ الشَّرِيفَ فِي زَمَانِ السُّلْطَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ الْمَعْظَمِ
غِيَاثِ الدِّيْنِ مُحَمَّدِ شَاهِ بْنِ أَحْمَدَ شَاهِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ شَاهِ بْنِ مَظْفَرِ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ
- (٣) خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكَهُ وَ سُلْطَانَهُ مَلِكَ الشَّرْقِ سَعْدَ الْمَلِكِ مُبَارَكَ هَلَالِ سُلْطَانِي طَلِبَا لِنَفَرَاتِهِ
وَنِيْلَا لِمَرْضَاتِهِ فِي السَّنَةِ مِنَ الْهِجْرَةِ الْحَادِي وَخَمْسِينَ وَثَمَانِيَةِ

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Says God the Exalted: And verily, the mosques are for God (only); hence, invoke not anyone else with Him. Says the Prophet, may God's blessings and peace be on him: He who builds a mosque for God the Exalted, God builds for him

¹ See inscription V above.

² *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, p. 693, while referring to this inscription states that it 'is dated *Sursan* 849 corresponding to A.D. 1448 in the reign of Sultan Muhammad II Ghiyas-ud-Dunya-wad-din son of Sultan Ahmad I'. Needless to say, the date is wrong.

(a) Over the central mihrāb, Jāmi' Mosque, Wadhwan City



Scale : .23

(b) Over the central mihrāb, Chāndani Mosque, Patan (Sonnath)



Scale : .33

(2) a palace in Paradise. This august mosque was constructed during the reign of the great and magnificent King, Ghiyāth'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the King,

(3) may God perpetuate his kindgom and sovereignty, by Malik'sh Sharq Sa'du'l Mulk Mubārak Hilāl Sultānī, by way of seeking His pardon and obtaining His pleasure in the Hijra year 851.

Qutbu'd Dīn Ahmad II

Prince Jalāl Khān, eldest son of Muḥammad Shāh ascended the throne on 11th Muḥarram 855 A.H., under the title of Qutbu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Abū'l Muẓaffar Aḥmad Shāh. He died, after a reign of seven years and a few months, in 862 A.H.

IX.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE CHĀNDANĪ MOSQUE, PATAN

The Chāndanī mosque, situated in the western quarter of Patan, is a low-roofed building of stone, with one prayer-hall consisting of two rows of arches supporting the roof, and a courtyard enclosed on three sides by small cloisters. Over its central prayer niche is fixed a slab of white marble (27" by 9") containing the following inscription of three lines written in *Naskh*. The slab is small in size as compared with the text of the inscription it had to contain. Moreover, the engraver has devoted the whole of the first line to the famous Quranic verse and tradition, leaving considerable space between their letters, as a result of which the letters in the next two lines had to be made smaller and written one upon another. The perpendicular strokes of the letters in the second and the third lines are prolonged upwards and arranged at equal distance so as to present a picture of railing. The epigraph records the erection of the mosque in 860 A.H., by one Shams bin Ṣadr al-Quraishī al-Balkhī, during the reign of Qutbu'd Dīn Aḥmad Shāh.¹ It has been rendered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (b)

(۱) قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا [۱] مع الله احد [۱] قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من بناء (sic.) مسجدا بنى الله تعالى في الجنة قصرا

(۲) عمارت این مسجد بمهد همایون شاه اعظم المعظم الوائق بتأیید الرحمن قطب الدنیا و الدین ابو المظفر احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بنده ضعیف الذخیف الراجی الى رحمة الله الحنان المنان شمس بن صدر بن شمس بن

(۳) القریشی البخی المعروف بملك بنه كرد و این مسجد بسعی بنده امیدوار برحمت پروردگار مجاهد ؟ بن شمس مذکور تا هر كه درین مسجد نماز بگذارد برای عاقبت خیر و ثباتی ایمان این گناه گاران بانی و ساعی مسجد مذکور یاد آرند تا موجب ثواب و ثمرات دو جهانی گردند بتاریخ هفدهم ماه رجب رجب قدره من شهر سنه ستین و ثمانمیه و کاتبه اضعف العباد فضل الله بن ابراهیم بن عمر امام مسجد مذکور^۲

¹ The text given in the *Corp. Insc. Bhar.*, p. 25, reads the date as 860; the footnote on the same page says that the reigning Sultan of Gujarat at the time was Mahmud Begra and not Ahmad Shah II.

² The reading of the words after 'Umar is doubtful.

TRANSLATION

(1) God says : And verily, the mosques are for God only ; hence, invoke not anyone else with God. The Prophet, may God's blessings and salutations be upon him says : He who builds a mosque, God the Exalted builds for him a palace in Paradise.

(2) The construction of this mosque was effected during the auspicious reign of the great and magnificent King, who is confident of the help of the Merciful, Quṭbu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Abū'l Muẓaffar Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the King, may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule, by the weak and infirm slave, hopeful of the mercy of God the Merciful, the Benificent, Shams, son of Ṣadr, son of Shams, son of.....

(3) al-Quraishī al-Balkhī, known as Malik Budh, through the endeavours of the slave, hopeful of the mercy of God, Mujāhid (?), son of the said Shams, with the hope that whoever offers prayers in this mosque will recite (prayers) for the good end and steadfastness of the Faith of these two sinful persons viz., the builder and the endeavourer, thus becoming the cause of their reward and recompense in both the worlds. On the 17th day of Rajab, may its dignity increase, of the Shuhūr San 860 A.H. (21st June 1456 A.D.). Its writer is the weakest of the creatures of God, Faḍlu'llāh, son of Ibrāhīm, son of 'Umar, the imām of the said mosque.

Nothing is known regarding the builder of the mosque who, as his popular epithet suggests, seems to have been a man of importance. He may have been one of those foreigners—merchants, scholars, saints and adventurers who visited and settled in Gujarat during the period of the Sultante.

Mahmud I

Quṭbu'd Dīn Aḥmad Shāh left no son and was succeeded first by Dā'ūd Shāh and later by his brother Fath Khān who under his royal name Maḥmūd I has gone down in the history of Gujarat as the most illustrious ruler of his line. He ascended the throne in 862 A.H., at the age of thirteen and 'reigned for the next fifty four years in uninterrupted glory and prosperity. Himself a great patron of architecture, there is hardly a monument of Muslim art in the country which popular legend does not connect with his name'. The two strongholds of Junagarh and Champaner which had managed to survive the attacks of Aḥmad Shāh I fell before his arms and were incorporated with the crown territories. He died in 917 A.H. and was succeeded by his son, Prince Khalīl Khān.

X.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE BORWĀD MOSQUE, JUNAGARH

This inscription of Maḥmūd is from the Borwād mosque, Junagarh. It is inscribed on a slab of white marble (11½" by 7") which is fixed over the left of the three prayer niches in the west wall ; the central prayer-niche has another inscription fixed over it, recording the erection of the Jāmi' mosque during the reign of Muẓaffar II in 920 A.H. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the present inscription is *in situ*. We know that Maḥmūd had finally conquered Junagarh in 875 A.H. or 1470 A.D., after which he invited holy Saiyids and men learned in the doctrines of the faith from every city in Gujarat and gave them an honourable residence there. He renamed the city as Muṣṭafābād. The extensive fortification which encloses both the Uparkot and the city of Junagarh constructed by him, remains even today in almost perfect condition. Another monument belonging to the rule of Maḥmūd I at Junagarh is the large mosque which stands on the crest of the Uparkot. This mosque is now in a deserted condition and bears no epigraph. Can it be that the inscription under notice originally belonged to the mosque in Uparkot said to have been constructed by Maḥmūd ?

¹ Cf. *Madaniyat*, *opp. cit.*, pp. 168, 169, 170.

(a) Over the left mihrāb, Borwad Mosque, Junagarh



Scale : 54

(b) Over the central mihrāb, Nagina Mosque, Veraval



Scale : 16

The inscriptional tablet is divided into six lines, each line having been further cut into four panels. Each panel contains a hemistich. The epigraph thus comprises twelve verses in Persian,¹ and records the construction of a Jāmi' mosque during Maḥmūd's reign. The too limited space for the text of an epigraph of twelve verses necessitated the proportionate smallness of letters; the style of writing is *Nasḥ* of an intricate type. These and the slightly damaged nature of the epigraph have rendered its decipherment extremely difficult. It is obvious therefore that the reading given below is not final. Any suggestions likely to improve the reading will be most welcome.

It has been rendered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XIX (a)

که بندند شاهان پیشش کمر	بمهد همایون شه نامور	(۱)
ابو الفتح کنیت پتابد چو ما [و]	شهی ناصر الدین محمود شاه	
..... بحکم	بنا کرد جامع فرید	(۲)
بفرمود در خواب شیخ کمال	سنه خمس و سبعین؟ بودست سال	
سرکهاالت بنهاد اندر زمین	شده ... فتح گرنار درین سنین؟	(۳)
بنای ... تقی شود این دیار	درین جای جامع بکن اختیار	
درون فاتحه؟ گفت شیخ معین	زهی کرد بنیاد جامع چنین	(۴)
کز و دست و پاهن کمال	زهی [شیخ] کامل وشهی با؟ کمال	
بزودی ازین کفر طایر شود	درین جای اسلام ظاهر شود	(۵)
بگیرند نفی درین خاص عام	ز توفیق باری شده این تمام	
... زو شود خوبی این دو چند؟	خدایا درین در نشاید گزند؟	(۶)
بشارت درین گشته حاصل تمام	بنیافع بگیرند مسلم دوام	

TRANSLATION

(1) In the blessed reign of the illustrious monarch, before whom the (other) kings gird up their loins

(viz.) the king Nāṣiru'd Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh with the *kunya* Abū'l Faṭḥ, shining like moon,

(2) constructed a Jāmi' mosque by the orders of.....

It was the year (eight hundred ?) and seventy-five (?) that Shaiḫ Kamāl ordered (its erection) in dream.

(3) Gīrnār was conquered after many years; the head of the *Khānts*² was placed under the earth.

In this place a Jāmi' mosque be constructed this country may become pious.

¹ The inscriptions of Gujarat Sultans published so far are all in prose. A few inscriptions of Zafar Khān (Muḥaffar I) in verse, most of them of his pre-kingship period, have been found by me after these lines were written; none of them is published so far.

² For *Khānts* who dwelt in Gīrnār hills, see *M.S.*, p. 90; Bayley, *Hist. of Guj.*, pp. 35n, 181.

(4) Bravo ! he constructed such a Jāmi' mosque ; in it the helping Shaiikh recited Fātiḥa.

Bravo for the perfect Shaiikh and also for the perfect king from whom.....perfect regard.

(5) In this region Islām will prosper and within no time Infidelity will disappear.

Through the grace of the Almighty this was completed ; high and low alike will derive benefit from it.

(6) O God ! let there be no harm to this abode, (and) may its beauty be two-fold.

The Muslims will for ever derive benefit—such is the good news augured.

XI.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE NAGĪNA MASJID, VERAVAL

The slab of white marble (3'7" by 1'6"), which bears the following inscription in Arabic, is fixed over the central prayer niche of a mosque in the Port area, near the Bank of India building, at Veraval. The present mosque, a modern structure known as Nagīna masjid, is constructed on the site of an old mosque to which this inscription is stated to have originally belonged. It is cut into three horizontal panels, each panel containing a line. The epigraph records the erection of the mosque by Abū'l Faṭḥ Maḥmūd Shāh in 893 A.H. (1488 A.D.).

The inscription is badly damaged;¹ letters have disappeared in several places while in some they have become indistinct. The style of writing is Thulṭh with Tughrā flourish of a fair type.

TEXT

Plate XIX (b)

(١) انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الآخر و اقام الصلوة و
آتى الزكوة و لم يخش الا الله فعسى اوليك ان يكونوا من المهتدين و قال صلى الله
عليه
(٢) فى الجنة اعمل هذا المسجد الشريف عاليجضرت السلطان الاعظم
مالك رقاب الامم ابو الفتح محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن
(٣) السلطان خلد الله ملكه و ذلك بنظر ؟ خادم الدرگاه العلية محمد بن
حاجى على بن محمد الكيلانى فرحمه الله تم البنياد ؟ فى تاريخ عاشر من شهر ربيع الاخر سنة ثلث
و تسعين و ثمانماية

TRANSLATION

(1)The mosques of God shall be visited by such as believe in God and the Last Day, establish regular prayers, and practise regular charity, and fear none (at all) except God. It is they who are expected to be on true guidance. And says.....may God's blessings and salutations be upon him.....

(2)in paradise.....This noble mosque was constructed by His Majesty the great King, Lord of the nations, Abū'l Faṭḥ Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of

¹ The slab seems to have lost a bit of its right portion.

(3) the King, may God perpetuate his kingdom. And this was constructed under the superintendence of the servant of the lofty court, Muḥammad, son of Hājī 'Alī, son of Muḥammad al-Gilānī, may God have mercy on him. Finished on the 10th day of the month of Rabī ' II, year three and ninety and eight hundred (i.e., 893 A.H.=24th March 1488 A.D.).

Muzaffar Shah II

Prince Khalil Khān succeeded his father on 3rd Ramaḍān 917 A.H., with the titles Abū'n Naṣr Shamsu'd Dīn Muẓaffar Shāh. He is acknowledged as the most cultured and talented of the Gujarat Sultans. He died in 932 A.H.

XII.—FROM THE BORWĀD MOSQUE, JUNAGARH

The following inscription is engraved in relief on a slab of white marble, measuring 2' by 1'6", fixed over the central prayer niche—a piece of exquisite design and beautiful workmanship—of the Borwād mosque. It mentions the construction of a Jāmi' mosque during the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh, by Bahā, son of Marjān, entitled Khawwās Khān. It bears the date 920 A.H. (1514 A.D.) and is inscribed in Naskh. The language is Arabic and, unlike the language generally employed in inscriptions, free from mistakes.

It has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XX (a)

- (١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ - قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَ إِنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ
(٢) أَحَدًا وَ قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَ سَلَّمَ مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا لِلَّهِ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ سَبْعِينَ قَصْرًا
(٣) فِي الْجَنَّةِ بَنَى الْعَبْدُ الضَّعِيفُ الرَّاجِي إِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ السَّبْعَانَ بِهَاءِ ابْنِ مَرْجَانَ
المخاطب بخان
(٤) اعْظُمُ خَوَاصِفَانِ غُفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُ وَ لِجَمِيعِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدُ الْجَامِعُ فِي عَصْرِ السُّلْطَانِ
المؤيد بتأييد الرحمن
(٥) الْمُسْتَنْصِرُ بِاللَّهِ الْمُنَانُ شَمْسُ الدُّنْيَا وَ الدِّينِ أَبِي النَّصْرِ مَظْفَرُ شَاهِ ابْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ شَاهِ
السُّلْطَانِ خَلَّدَ مُلْكُهُ
(٦) وَ فُوضَ بِذَلِكَ الْبِنَاءِ بِقَلْعَةِ كِرْنَادِ الْمَوْسُومِ بِمُصْطَفَى أَدِ فِي التَّارِيخِ الْهَجْرِيَّةِ
(٧) الرَّابِعِ عَشَرَ مِنْ شَهْرِ ذِي الْقَعْدِ سَنَةِ عَشْرِينَ وَ تِسْعِمِائَةٍ

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. God the Exalted says : And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ; hence, invoke not with God
(2) anyone else. And the Prophet, may God's blessings and salutations be upon him, says : He who builds a mosque for God, God builds for him seventy palaces
(3) in Paradise. The weak slave, hopeful of the mercy of God the Glorified, Bahā, son of Marjān, entitled Khān-i-A'zam
(4) Khawwās Khān, may God pardon him and all the Muslims, constructed this Jāmi' mosque during the reign of the King, who is assisted by the aid of the All Merciful,

(5) seeker of the help of God the Benevolent, Shamsu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Abī'n Naṣr Muẓaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, the King, may his kingdom last for ever

(6) and his generosity be showered upon (every one). And this building was constructed at the 'Fort of Gīrnār' named as Muṣṭafābād in the Hijra date,

(7) viz., 14th of the month of Dhī'l Qa'd, year nine hundred and twenty (31st Dec. 1514 A.D.).

This inscription is the only epigraphical record in Junagarh, which bears the name Muṣṭafābād given to it by Maḥmūd I. It is significant to note that the name Junagarh does not occur in this or the other inscriptions at this place and the name قلعه گرنار of Persian histories is given instead.

About the builder of the mosque, Bahā, son of Marjān, entitled Khān-i-A'zam Khawwās Khān, histories are completely silent. There was one Marjān Sultānī, a noble during Quṭbu'd Dīn Aḥmad's reign, who was in charge of Broach when Maḥmūd Khalji of Malwa invaded Gujarat.¹ He is mentioned in an inscription from Broach as having held the title of Khawwāsu'l Mulk.² It is not unlikely that Bahā bin Marjān of our inscription may have been a son of Marjān Sultānī: the title Khawwās Khān held by him also points to this probability. From the inscription, Bahā bin Marjān would appear to have been connected with Junagarh in some authoritative capacity. It may, however, be pointed out that Malik Ayāz, one of the most notable amirs and a great general of his time is mentioned in Persian histories as having held charge of Junagarh and Diu for a number of years since the days of Maḥmūd I until his death in 928 A.H.³ It is surprising to find that Malik Ayāz who was held in great esteem by Maḥmūd I and his son Muẓaffar II and who was celebrated alike for his bravery, skill and hospitality is mentioned in historical works without any title,⁴ when almost every noble of this period is mentioned by these writers with his respective title. Khawwās Khān Khān-i-A'zam are titles which speak of the great position Bahā must have held in 920 A.H. Whether he has anything to do with Ayāz is not possible for us to say, but the presence of such a great noble in or about Junagarh, when Malik Ayāz was in charge of that place and Diu, requires satisfactory explanation.

XIII.—OTHER INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BORWĀD MOSQUE

There are two small but very interesting epigraphs incised on each of the upper corners of the central prayer niche referred to above. Though their writing is of a crude type of Naskh, quite different from that of the preceding epigraph, they are nevertheless contemporaneous with it. These small epigraphs, supplying us the names of the sculptors who were employed for carving out the niche, have preserved for us a rare, if not unique, record of a couple of the many Hindu sculptor-masters who were, it seems, generally employed to execute, even in religious buildings, the sculptural and carving work requiring elaborate design and perfect workmanship. The epigraphs were probably carved by the sculptors themselves who were naturally anxious to leave their names to posterity and this would explain the crude nature of the style of writing. Another interesting information gleaned out of these inscriptions is that the engraver of the inscription and the composer of it were not the same person. The engraving and composing were sometimes done by two different persons. In this particular case, the sculptor who executed the miḥrāb, the one who engraved the main inscription (no. XII) and the one who wrote it for the engraver to copy it out on the stone, are three different persons, the first two being Hindu sculptors and the last being the imām of the mosque.

¹ *M.S.*, p. 51; *H.D.*, *opp. cit.*, p. 4.

² *E.I.M.*, 1933-34 (Supplement), p. 29.

³ *M.S.*, pp. 117, 129-31, 159-62; *H.D.*, *opp. cit.*, pp. 37, 38, 113, 117.

⁴ *H.D.*, *opp. cit.*, p. 37, simply calls him Malik Ayāz Khāss Sultānī.

The first of these epigraphs occupies about 8" by 4½" space while the other 4½" by 4". They are as under :—

TEXT

Plate XX (b)

(a)	داست کنانید سنگ تاریخ مسجد ؟	(b)	سنگتراش
	هذا سنگتراش داده بن		نبرد تاهیا ؟
	زمین موضع او مراله		داست کفنده
	بنی خان اعظم		محراب مسجد
	خواصخان دهانیده		جامع
	شده زمین انعامی ؟		
	کاتب حروف		
	سید میران نور		
	امام مسجد جامع		

TRANSLATION

(a) This tablet bearing the date was executed by the stone-carver, Rādh, son of..... the land in the village of Ūmarāla has been granted to him by the great *Khān Khawwās Khān*. The *in'āmi* land (is allotted to ?) the writer of the text, Sayyid Mirān Nūr, *imām* of the Jāmi' Mosque.

(b) Sculptor

Narhad Tāhyā ?

the executor of

the *mihrāb* of the

Jāmi' mosque.

XIV.—FROM THE JĀMI' MOSQUE AT RANPUR, DISTRICT AHMADABAD

Ranpur, a town in the Dhandhuka sub-division of Ahmadabad District, is situated on the north bank of the river Bhādar at a distance of about 18 miles, by road, to the west of Dhandhuka. As one of the posts on the border land between Gujarat and Saurashtra, it has been in the past a place of considerable historical interest. On the raised strip of land between the south bank of the river Bhadar and the river Guma, lies 'the chief ornament of the town, a fine old fort' now partly in ruins. The fort with the mosque and a bath with a cellar and underground passage inside, and a well to the east of the town with the remains of a garden, bear Persian inscriptions of *Shāh Jahān*'s reign recording their construction by A'zam Khān.¹ Two more inscriptions of the Sultanate period, one belonging to Muẓaffar II and the other to his son Sultan Bahādur, are also to be found in this town ; they were first noticed by me during my recent visit to that place. The inscription of Muẓaffar *Shāh* is inscribed in six lines on a slab of white marble (1'10" by 1'5½") which has broken into two pieces now lying loose in the principal mosque of the town. It is reported by local people to have been removed from an old ruined mosque with one minaret. Almost the whole

¹ For A'zam Khān's achievements in this part, see *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī* (Baroda ed.), I, pp. 210-16. The inscriptions have been noticed in *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, pp. 44-46, and also in the *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, (Bombay, 1897), pp. 87-88.

of the inscription is worn out and the letters which were originally embossed in relief, are much effaced. It records the erection of a Jāmi' mosque during the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh II in 931 A.H. by Malik Dāwaru'l Mulk. The style of writing is *Nasḥ*. It may be rendered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XX (c)

- (١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله
 (٢) فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا - قال عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله تعالى بنى الله له قصرا
 (٣) في الجنة اين مسجد جامع بنا كرده حضرت خان على ؟ خطاب ملك الشرق ملك
 (٤) داود ملك مد الله عمره و دولته الشريفه در عهد المويد بتايد الرحمن شمس
 الدنيا و الدين
 (٥) ابو [النصر] مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن
 مظفر شاه السلطان
 (٦) كار فرماي ... كمال بن داود بن بدر ؟ ... في سنة احدى ثلاثين و تسعمائيه
 اربع عشر شمسيه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ;

(2) therefore, invoke not anyone else with God. Says (the Prophet), on him be peace: He who builds a mosque for God, God builds for him a palace

(3) in Paradise. This Jāmi' mosque was constructed by the *Khān* of lofty title, *Maliku'sh Sharq*, Malik

(4) Dāwar Mulk, may God prolong his life and good fortune, during the reign of the one who is supported by God, *Shāmsu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn*

(5) Abū'n (Naṣr) Muẓaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the King.

(6) The superintendent Kamāl, son of Dā'ūd, son of Badr (?) in the year thirty-one and nine hundred, fourteen *Shamsiyya* i. e., *Shamsi* year 14 (1524-25 A.D.).

In the list of the Gujarat nobility, preserved in the pages of the historical works on Gujarat, we find the title Dāwaru'l Mulk enjoyed by two persons at two different periods. The first to enjoy this title was Malik 'Abdu' Laṭīf bin Maḥmūd al-Quraishī who was a great noble, no less a saint, of Maḥmūd I's reign. He died in 889 A.H.,¹ long before the date of the present epigraph. The other noble mentioned with this title is Malik Dāwaru'l Mulk, regarding whom the information in the *Mir'āt* is scanty. Among the nobles who joined Bahādur on his arrival in Gujarāt, after deserting 'Imādu'l Mulk, the murderer of Sultan Sikandar, were Bahāu'l Mulk and Dāwaru'l Mulk, who were sworn allies of 'Imādu'l Mulk and accessories in the murder. Bahādur, for the time being, connived at their offence, but after a short time, ordered Dāwaru'l Mulk to be beheaded in 932 A.H., alongwith Ulugh Khān and Qaiṣar Khān.² Firigha says that Bahādur was informed that Ulugh Khān and Qaiṣar Khān who were associated with 'Imādu'l Mulk in the murder of the

¹ For a detailed account of his career, see *M.S.*, pp. 126-129; *Commissariat*, *opp. cit.*, pp. 217-19.

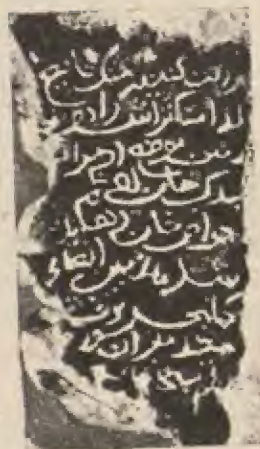
² *M.S.*, pp. 328. 334-35.

(a) Over the central mihrāb, Borwad Mosque, Junagarh



Scale : •154

(b) On the top corners of the central mihrāb, same mosque



Scale : •33



Scale : •31

(c) Lying in the Jāmi' Mosque, Ranpur



Scale : •25

late Sultan were then plotting against him and carrying on secret correspondence with Laṭif Khān. When these two nobles came to pay usual homage next day, they were ordered to be put under arrest. During those very days, Dāwaru'l Mulk who had left the city on some pretext, was arrested.¹ This Dāwaru'l Mulk is likely to be the same as one mentioned in our inscription.

It will be seen that the epigraph bears the words شمسیه at the end. In another inscription of the same king, which is found on Rānī Sabrā't's mosque inside Astodia gate at Ahmadabad, a similar expression viz., اربع شمسیه precedes the actual date.² Dr. Chaghtai who is the latest to re-edit that inscription reads it as اربع شهر سنه شمسیه translating it as 'the fourth month of the solar year.'³ Blochmann had more correctly translated it as 'the fourth solar (regnal) year'.⁴ Personally I think, the word شمسیه does not connote the usual meaning 'solar' and it would be more correct to translate it as '4th Shamsī (i.e. Shamsu'd Dīn's regnal) year'. This innovation of the mention of regnal year in inscriptions, which had become so popular and common under the Mughuls is, to the best of my knowledge, found only in the inscriptions of Muẓaffar Shāh, and of no other Sultan of Gujarat.

Bahadur Shah

Sultan Muẓaffar was succeeded by his son Sikandar who was killed soon after his accession, on 14th Shah'bān 932 A.H. Bahādur Shāh being away from Gujarat at that time, 'Imādu'l Mulk, who had perpetrated the murder of Sultan Sikandar raised a younger son of Muẓaffar, Naṣir Khān by name, to the throne under the title of Maḥmūd II. However, on Bahādur's arrival on the scene, most of the nobles joined him and he ascended the throne on 26th Ramaḍān 932 A.H. A man of great intrepidity and courage, under whom the borders of Gujarat were extended far and wide on all sides, he met with a tragic end at the hands of the Portuguese at Diu on 3rd Ramaḍān 943 A.H.

XV.—INSCRIPTION ON THE NĪLAM TOPE IN UPARKOT, JUNAGARH

Immediately after Bahādur's death, Sulaimān Pāshā had arrived with a large fleet to Diu from Egypt in 945 A.H. (1538 A.D.), with a view to drive out the Portuguese who were daily gaining ground and at whose hands Bahādur had suffered death. However, he sailed back within a short time after an unsuccessful seige of the fort of Diu, leaving behind him the heavy Sulaimānī guns.⁵ Two magnificent specimens of these guns, which were cast in Egypt during the reign of Sultān Sulaimān, the Magnificent, of Turkey, may still be seen within the walls of the Uparkot citadel at Junagarh. One of these, called the Nīlam Tope, is placed in front of the mosque near the fortification wall. It is seventeen feet long with a circumference of seven feet and a half at the breach and measures at the muzzle nine and a half inches in diameter. It bears the following inscriptions in Arabic, executed in relief in beautiful Ṭḥulḥ characters in Ṭuḡhrā fashion which affords us an example of the style of writing vogue at this period outside India. One mentions the casting of the cannon in Egypt ordered by Sultān Sulaimān bin Salīm to fight the Portuguese desirous of entering India who have been termed as 'enemy of state and religion', and the other gives the name of the caster as 'Muḥammad bin Ḥamza'.

¹ *Opp. cit.*, pp. 214, 215, 216.

² *Indian Antiquary*, IV, p. 292.

³ *Opp. cit.*, p. 74.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 292.

⁵ *Commissariat, opp. cit.*, pp. 407-8; H.D., *opp. cit.*, p. 443 referring to Surat guns calls them Salimānī guns.

TEXT

Plate XXI (a)

- (١) امر بعمل هذه المكحلة في سبيل الله تعالى سلطان العرب و العجم
 (٢) سلطان سليمان بن سليم خان عز نصره لقهر اعداء الدولة و الدين الكفار
 (٣) الداخلين ببلاد الهند برتقال اللعين في محروسه مصر سنة ٩٣٧

عمل محمد بن حمزه

TRANSLATION

- (1) This cannon was ordered to be made, in the cause of God, by the king of 'Arab and 'Ajam,
 (2) Sulṭān Sulaimān, son of Salim Khān, may he be victorious, in order to subdue the enemy of state and religion, the infidels,
 (3) who wish to enter India, (that is to say) the cursed Portuguese. In the metropolis of Egypt, year 937 (A.H.=1530-31 A.D.).
 Cast by Muḥammad, son of Ḥamza.

XVI.—INSCRIPTION ON THE KADĀNĀL TOPE IN THE SAME CITADEL

The other gun, called locally as Kadānāl or Chudānāl, is located in the south-east corner of the citadel adjoining the water works. It is thirteen feet long and has a muzzle fourteen inches in diameter. It bears only the name of the caster executed in relief in Nasḥ of a crude type which is in striking contrast to the one just described above.

TEXT

Plate XXI (b)

علي بن صرجه

TRANSLATION

'Alī, son of Ṣarja.¹

XVII.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE BOHRA'S MOSQUE, RANPUR

The Dā'ūdī Bohra's mosque, which is a modern structure, bears an inscription of the reign of Bahādur Shāh. The slab of white marble (1'2" by 10") on which the epigraph is inscribed in relief is fixed into the west wall of the mosque, to the right of the pulpit, at a height of 6'5" from the floor. The inscription is not *in situ*, since it records the construction of an 'Id mosque. Rāj bin 'Alī, a *bohra* inhabitant of Lathi,² constructed the mosque during the reign of Sultan Bahādur in the year 938 A.H. (1531 A.D.). The epigraph does not contain the royal titles or *kunyat* of Bahādur Shāh.³

¹ Also see Commissariat, *opp. cit.*, p. 409, where it is said, 'It bears: . . . Alī bin Ḥamza, the gunner who cast it, being, probably, the brother of the man who made the Nilam Tope'. However, according to my reading, the name of the father is not Ḥamza and hence the question of the gunner's relationship with the other is doubtful.

² Lathi, formerly the chief town of a fourth class native state of the same name, is situated about 13 miles north-east of Amreli and is a station on the Botad-Jetalsar section of the Western Rly.

³ The inscriptions of Bahādur, published so far (*E.I.N.*, 1933-34 supp., p. 30; Dr Chaghtai, *opp. cit.*, no. XXXI) do not contain his royal titles. Ḥājī Dabir, *opp. cit.*, p. 139 calls him Al-Muzaffar Ghāzī Ṣamṣāmūd Dīn, but his coins have Quṭbūd Dīn Ṣamṣāmūd Dīn Abū'l Faḍl (Taylor, *The coins of the Guj. Sultans*, p. 57).

(a) On the Nīlam Topo, Uparkot, Junagadh



Scale : .13

(b) On the Kadānāl Topo, same place



Scale : .15

(c) From the Jāmi' Mosque, Kutiyana



Scale : .21

The epigraph is written in *Naskh* and the language barring the verse of the Quran and the tradition of the Prophet, is Persian.

It has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (a)

- (۱) قال الله تبارك و تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله
 (۲) احدا - قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنا المسجد بنا الله تعالى له قصرا في
 الجنة بنا كرد اين مسجد عيد راج بن على بوهره ساكن قصبه لاتهى در عهد سلطان
 بهادر شاه بن
 (۳) مظفر شاه السلطان تاريخ غره ماه ربيع الاول شهر سنه ثمان و ثلاثين و
 تسعايه مورخا

TRANSLATION

(1) God the Blessed and Exalted says : And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ; therefore, invoke not with God

(2) anyone else. The Prophet, may God's blessings and salutations be on him, says : He who builds the mosque, God the Exalted builds for him a palace in

(3) Paradise. This 'Id mosque was constructed by Rāj, son of 'Alī *Bohra*,¹ inhabitant of the town of Lathi, during the reign of Sulṭān Bahādur *Shāh*, son of

(4) Muẓaffar *Shāh*, the King. Dated 1st of the month of Rabī' I *Shuhūr San* 938 (13th Oct. 1531 A.D.).

Mahmud III

Sultan Bahādur did not leave any son. He is said to have nominated Mirān Muḥammad *Shāh* of Khandesh, his sister's son, to succeed him to the throne. The latter had been the constant companion of Sultan Bahādur and had for ten years, until the latter's death, participated in all the great military expeditions conducted by the Sultan. He was at Ujjain in Malwa at the time of Bahādur's death. He was invited by the nobles to return to Gujarat, but before he could do so, he died. The next heir to the throne was under the custody of Muḥammad *Shāh* of Burhanpur. He was summoned to Gujarat and was enthroned under the title of Maḥmūd *Shāh* III.

XVIII.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE JĀMI' MOSQUE, KUTIYANA

Kutiyaṇa is situated on the bank of the river Bhadar, about 25 miles east of Porbandar. It is approached by bus from Saradiya, the last station on the Junagarh-Saradiya section of the Western Railway. Kutiyaṇa is said to have been styled as Muẓaffarābād because Sultan Muẓaffar II, who then yet a prince was viceroy of Sorath, was very fond of the place and made it very populous and built the fort.² However, Hājī Dabīr informs us that Bahāu'd Dīn 'Imādu'l Mulk, under Maḥmūd I, had constructed the fort of Kutiyaṇa, about 10 *farsakhs* from Junagarh.³ Kutiyaṇa, formerly under Junagarh State, is now the headquarters of a *mahāl* in Sorath District.

¹ The Bohra community, to which the builder belonged, is a trading community and is spread over Gujarat and Saurashtra. Rāj usually suffixed with *bāsi* is a common name among them even today.

² *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, p. 526.

Opp. cit., p. 22.

The following inscription is carved in relief on a marble slab fixed in the south wall of the Jāmi' mosque of the town. The mosque appears to be a modern structure and it is very doubtful whether the slab belongs to the present mosque, though it was noticed in the same place at least seventy years ago, for, the *Bombay Gazetteer* gives its purport.¹ However, the date given there is *Sur San* 940, which is quite wrong. Neither it is *Sur San*, nor it is 940. The epigraph records the erection of a Jāmi' mosque by Ibrāhīm Nizām Jahramī during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Latīf Shāh in the month of Sha'bān 948 A.H. and also mentions the endowment of a village in the *pargana* of Kunthiyana for meeting the expenses of the mosque.

It is inscribed in *Naskh* and runs into ten lines in mixed Arabic and Persian prose. The name of the scribe, which is less frequently given in inscriptions on this side, is also given. The slab measures 1'5" by 1'2".

It has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXI (c)

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - قال الله تعالى
 (۲) و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا قال
 (۳) النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى مسجدا لله
 (۴) تعالى بنى الله مثله قصرا في الجنة باي اين مسجد
 (۵) جامع ابراهيم نظام جهرمي ثم الشطاري بعصر
 (۶) اعظم السلطان محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه اخي
 (۷) بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه بن محمد شاه
 (۸) [بن] احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان ذيل
 (۹) خرج مسجد موضع هيتپره پرگنه كن تهپانه ماه شعبان ثمان اربعين و تسعمايه
 (۱۰) كاتبعرف مذكور زبيري

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. God the Exalted says :
 (2) And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ; hence, invoke not anyone else with God. Says
 (3) the Prophet, may God's blessings and peace be upon him : He who builds a mosque for God,
 (4) the Exalted, God builds a palace like it in Paradise. The builder of this Jāmi' mosque (is)
 (5) Ibrāhīm Nizām Jahramī, (called) afterwards Shatṭārī, during the magnificent reign of
 (6) the King, Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Latīf Shāh, brother of
 (7) Bahādur Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh,
 (8) (son of) Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the King. (And)
 for the
 (9) expenditure of the mosque, the village Hetpara (1) of the *pargana* Kunthiyana (was
 endowed). In the month of Sha'bān, forty-eight and nine hundred (Nov.-Dec. 1541 A.D.).
 (10) The writer of these words (is) Zubairī.

¹ *Bom. Gaz.*, VIII, p. 526.

Though we do not find any mention of the builder in the annals of Gujarat, it appears from the epigraph that he was a man of some consequence and in possession of some authority so as to be able to donate a village for the maintenance of the mosque. It may be pointed out that the royal titles of Maḥmūd III (which are Nāṣiru'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Abū'l Faṭḥ)¹ are absent in the present epigraph. The village Hetpara could not be located on the map. The *mahālkāri* of Kutiyana who was addressed on the subject writes to me that there is no such village, nor any answering nearest to this pronunciation, in that *mahāl*.

Ahmad Shah III

Maḥmūd III was assassinated in 961 A.H., leaving behind him no heir. The nobles raised a relation of the late Sultan and a direct descendent of Aḥmad I to the throne under the title of Aḥmad Shāh III. In his coins and inscriptions, he is mentioned as Aḥmad Shāh, Ibn-i-'Amm-i-Maḥmūd Shāh. Hājī Dabīr, the author of the celebrated Arabic History of Gujarat, is the only historian to trace his lineage, according to which, he was the son of Laṭīf Khān, son of Nizām Khān, son of Shakar Khān, son of Aḥmad Shāh I, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh.² According to this lineage, Aḥmad III would be an uncle and not a cousin of Sultan Maḥmūd III. Hence, the word ابن عم is not to be taken to mean strictly a first cousin, but it may be taken to mean a blood relation.³ Dr Chaghtai considers the way in which Aḥmad III is mentioned in his inscriptions and coins as strange. He says, 'But instead of showing his direct connection with Aḥmad I, his relationship with Laṭīf Shāh, brother of Bahādur Shāh has been shown which is somewhat strange'.⁴ However, there is nothing strange in this. It is not altogether justifiable to interpret the legend on coins and inscriptions as showing his relationship with Laṭīf Shāh. For more often than not, the geneology thus inscribed indicates as far as possible the succession of actual rulers. And since Maḥmūd was succeeded by Aḥmad III who did not come within the scope of any close relationship with him, he was simply mentioned in these as ابن عم of Maḥmūd III (who was son of Laṭīf Shāh, the brother of Bahādur Shāh).

XIX.—INSCRIPTION FROM LOLIYANA

Loliyana, about 34 miles north-west of Bhavnagar, is reached from Ningala or Ujalvav stations on the Botad-Bhavnagar section of the Western Railway. A small village of no importance now, it lies on the southern bank of the Ghelo river. 'It used to be considered in the *Mulkgiri* times under the Muhammadans that Sorath commenced at Loliana. Loliana was an early conquest of the Muhammadans who kept a strong *thana* there and the Loliana *thanahdar* was an important person in the local politics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It has a stone minaret which is 188 feet high and visible for some distance.'⁵

In a tomb in the village, locally known as Madan Shāh's, there are lying two loose slabs — both greatly damaged, one of which bears the following inscription. The slabs have nothing to do with the tomb where they seem to have been shifted from the mosque in which they are reported to have been placed when the *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*,⁶ was compiled. Both of them pertain to the construction and repair or reconstruction of a mosque. It is just possible that both the slabs had originally belonged to the same mosque.

¹ Chaghtai, *opp. cit.*, pp. 78, 79; Taylor, *opp. cit.*, p. 58.

² *Opp. cit.*, p. 391.

³ See *E.I.M.*, 1935-36, pp. 50-51. Also see *Journal of the Numis. Soc. of India*, vol. I, p. 42, where the word is stated to connote a wider meaning than first cousin.

⁴ *Opp. cit.*, p. 14.

⁵ *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, p. 535.

⁶ *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, pp. 5, 34.

This epigraph is inscribed in relief in *Naskh* letters on a slab of white marble measuring 1'11" by 1'2" by 6". It consists of five lines in mixed Arabic and Persian, the Arabic portion comprising the *Bismillāh* and a verse from the Quran. It has been noticed in the *Corpus*, which states that 'the mosque appears to have been built long before the date of the inscription, but it having fallen down, Sultan Mahmud III of Gujarat ordered it to be rebuilt. This inscription refers to the rebuilding of this mosque in 968 A.H.'¹ This reading is quite incorrect. The name of Aḥmad Shāh and the date 962 A.H., can be read despite the indistinct character of the epigraph, and the king was neither the builder nor repairer. Though the names of the original builder and the rebuilder could not be deciphered with certainty, the former appears to have held the title of Maliku'sh Sharq Qiwāmu'l Mulk, while the latter reads like Himmat Khān, son of Haibat Khān Bahlīm. It may be added that the royal titles of Aḥmad Shāh are absent in the epigraph. It may be rendered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXII (a)

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 (۲) قال الله [تعالى] و ان [المساجد لله] فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا اين مسجد
 (۳) جامع ؟ ملك الشرق قوام الملك بنا کرده بود بعد نهايت كهنه شده بود ؟
 بعد خان اعظم
 (۴) [هم]تخان بن [هيبت]تخان بهليم در عهد سلطان احمد شاه ابن عم محمود شاه از
 سربنا کرده اجر الله تعالى
 (۵) في الدارين بانيه ؟ في ماه مبارك رمضان الحادي والعشرين شهر سنة اثني و ستين
 و تسعمائة

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.....
 (2) God, the Exalted says : And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ; hence, invoke not anyone else with Him. This Jāmi' mosque
 (3) was constructed by Maliku'sh Sharq Qiwāmu'l Mulk. After..... it had become dilapidated. Thereafter the great Khān
 (4) Himmat (?) Khān, son of Haibat (?) Khān Bahlīm, got it reconstructed during the reign of Aḥmad Shāh, a cousin of Maḥmūd Shāh. May God the Exalted reward
 (5) its builder (?) in both the worlds. In the month of Ramaḍān, 21st, *Shuhūr San* sixty-two and nine hundred (9th Aug. 1555 A.D.).
 Histories mention only two nobles who have borne the title of Qiwāmu'l Mulk. One was Sayyid 'Aṭāu'llāh who was responsible in making Prince Jalāl Khān (Qutbu'd Dīn Aḥmad II) succeed his father Muḥammad Shāh II.² The other one, far more celebrated than the above-mentioned, was Malik Sārang Sulṭānī, a noble who served Maḥmūd I, Muẓaffar Shāh II and Sultan Bahādur. He is mentioned as having been put in charge of Diu by Sultan Bahādur in 1528.³

¹ *Corp. Inc. Bhar.*, p. 34.

² *M.S.*, pp. 49, 61 ; *H.D.*, *opp. cit.*, p. 11.

³ *M.S.*, pp. 212, 214; for an account of his career, see *Commissariat*, *opp. cit.*, pp. 217, 274, 276, 278, 279, 291, 325.

(a) Lying in Madan Shāh Bukhārī's Tomb, Loliyana



Scale : 26

(b) Lying in Ahmad Pir Kā Chorā. Patan (Somnath)



Scale : 23

My dear Sir,
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst. in relation to the above named subject. I am sorry to hear that you are not satisfied with the result of the examination. I have, however, no objection to your making such use of the facts as you may think proper. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
J. W. Alden

My dear Sir,
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst. in relation to the above named subject. I am sorry to hear that you are not satisfied with the result of the examination. I have, however, no objection to your making such use of the facts as you may think proper. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
J. W. Alden

In the absence of any definite clue from the epigraph, it is difficult to say, as to which of the two, if at all, is meant here. As regards the repairer or rebuilder, the name could not be deciphered with certainty. The word Bahlīm¹ is quite clear in the epigraph, which shows that he belonged to that caste. A number of persons belonging to this caste are mentioned in the histories of Gujarat, e.g., Haibat Khān Bahlīm, Nuṣratu'l Mulk Bahlīm, Ghaḍanfaru'l Mulk Bahlīm, Mujāhid Khān Bahlīm and the like.²

XX.—INSCRIPTION FROM PATAN

The second inscription of this king, being noticed here for the first time, was found lying in the place called Aḥmad Pīr k̄a Chorā, near the Gujarati school at Patan. It originally belonged to some mosque, as the construction of a mosque is mentioned therein. It seems to have escaped the notice of the former Junagarh State authorities who have removed a number of inscribed tablets from this place to the State Museum, Junagarh. The Saurashtra Government, we hope, will take necessary steps to preserve this and remove it to the newly set up Archaeological Museum at Patan itself.

The slab of yellow sandstone, bearing this inscription, has suffered much from weather and vandalism. It measures 1'6" by 1'6" and is 6" thick. The portion towards the base containing the date is worst affected. The epigraph records the erection of a mosque during the reign of Sultan Aḥmad III by one Ishāq Sultānī. The titles of the king given are Al-Mu'taṣīm bi'llāh Ghiyāthu'd Dīn Abū'l Maḥāmid Aḥmad Shāh, which are to be found on his coins and other inscriptions. The style of writing is Naskh.

It has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXII (b)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ - قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى
- (۲) وَ أَنَّ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا [۱]
- (۳) وَ قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا بَنَى اللَّهُ
- (۴) لَهُ قَصْرًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ - دُرْ عَهْدَ هَمَايُونِ السُّلْطَانِ
- (۵) الْأَعْظَمِ الْمَعْظُمِ الْمُعْتَصِمِ بِاللَّهِ غِيَاثِ الدِّينِ
- (۶) أَبُو الْمَعَامِدِ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ عَمِّ مُحَمَّدٍ شَاهِ ابْنِ مَسْجِدِ بَنَى كَرْدَ
- (۷) [بَنَدُ كَنْدَ گَار؟] اسحاق سلطانی التاريخ ؟ ماه
- (۸)

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. God the Exalted says :
- (2) And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ; hence, do not invoke anyone else along with God.

¹ Behlīm : converted Rajputs of the Behlīm tribe are found in North Gujarat and in Broach. The Behlīm seem originally to have been a Turkish tribe. In Gujarat the Behlīm have ceased to form a separate class and their tribal name has become little more than a surname. *Bomb. Gaz.*, IX, part II, p. 58.

² H.D., *opp. cit.*, pp. 29, 63, 102, 260, 266, 269, 291, 508 etc. The last mentioned was for some time stationed at Palitana which is not far from Loliyana. *Ibid.*, pp. 268, 292, 324.

(3) And the Prophet, may God's blessings and peace be upon him, says: He who builds a mosque, God builds

(4) for him a palace in Paradise. During the auspicious reign of the King,

(5) the great, the magnificent, relying on God, Ghiyāthu'd Dīn

(6) Abū'l Maḥmūd Aḥmad Shāh, cousin of Maḥmūd Shāh, this mosque was built by

(7) the sinful slave, Iṣḥāq Sultānīmonth

(8)

The following two inscriptions belong to the Sultanate period but it was not possible to assign them the name of any of the Sultans. One of them is a fragmentary record, containing a part of the geneology of the Sultans, while the other does not mention any ruling king at all.

XXI.—INSCRIPTION FROM LOLIYANA

This fragmentary epigraph is the other of the two lying in the tomb of Madan Shāh.¹ Its text has been given in the *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, where it is stated to 'contain the date 729 A.H. in which the building of the mosque by one Karmalla Shah took place'.² The inscription which has lost its portion on the right is certainly neither dated 729 or 720 nor does it give the name of Karmalla Shah as the builder. It mentions the construction of a mosque during the reign of one of the Gujarat Sultans, who ruled after Muḥammad Shāh II, son of Aḥmad I; in all probability, it was Maḥmūd I. The style of writing is *Nasḥ* and the slab measures in its present state 1'1" by 8" and is 6" thick.

It may be rendered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (b)

- | | |
|---|-----|
| د شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه | (۱) |
| بنده امیدوار برحمت پروردگار | (۲) |
| غالیخانای الخامس و العشرین من ذی القعدة | (۳) |
| بنا کرد این مسجد | (۴) |

TRANSLATION

- | |
|---|
| (1)d <u>Shāh</u> , son of Muḥammad <u>Shāh</u> , son of Aḥmad <u>Shāh</u> , son of Muḥammad <u>Shāh</u> |
| (2) the slave, hopeful of the mercy of God, |
| (3) <u>Ghālīb Khānī</u> , on the 25th of <u>Dhī'l Qa'da</u> |
| (4) constructed this mosque |

XXII.—INSCRIPTION FROM QĀDĪ'S MOSQUE, PATAN

This epigraph is carved in relief on a slab of marble measuring 2' by 5½" which is fixed over the central *mihrāb* of the said mosque. It comprises three lines in mixed Arabic and Persian. It mentions the erection of a mosque by one Maḥmūd, son of 'Uṭhmān. The date which is inscribed towards the end in the third line is not perfectly clear; the *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, reads it as 976 A.H.³

¹ See inscription no. XVII above.

² *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, p. 5. However, in the text given, the date read is 720 A.H. Such instances of giving one date in the text and another in the introductory remarks are common in that work.

³ P. 36.

(a) From the Dā'ūdī Bohra's Mosque, Ranpur



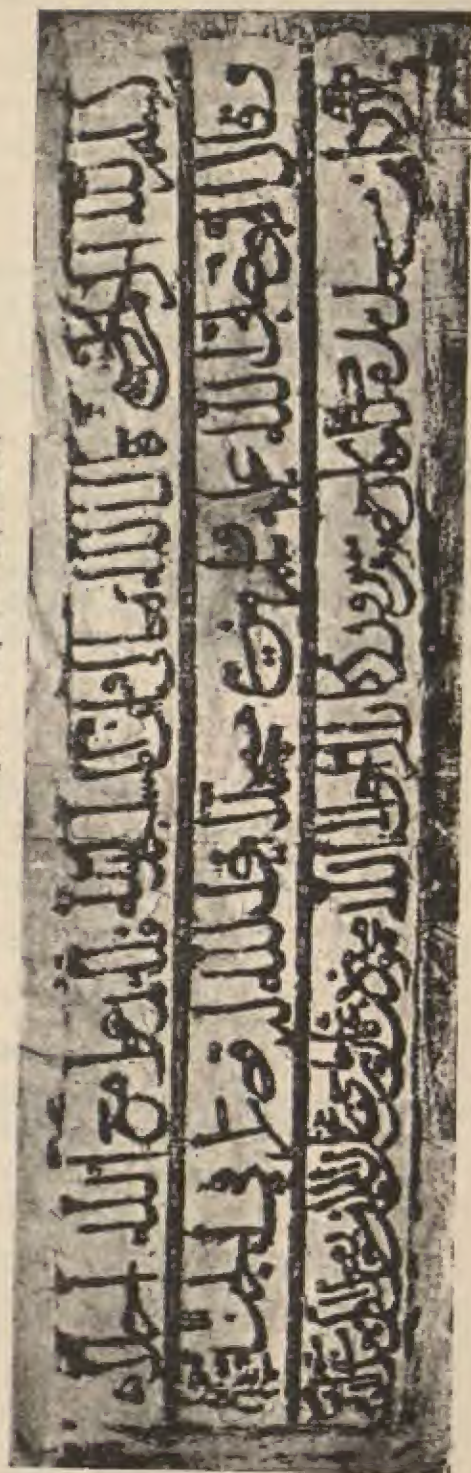
Scale : .23

(b) Lying in Madan Shāh Bakhārī's Tomb, Lohiyana



Scale : .31

(c) Over the central mihrāb, Qāḍī's Mosque, Patan (Somnath)



Scale : .34

The style of writing is *Naskh*. It may be read as under:—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (c)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ - قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَ إِنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا
 (۲) وَ قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ قَصْرًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ
 (۳) بِنَا كَرْدَ اَيْنَ مَسْجِدِ بِنْدَه گناهگار حضرت پروردگار الراجی الی الله محمود بن عثمان بن
 حاجی عثمان ؟ فی الثلاثین شهر ربیع الاول شہور سنہ ست و اربعین و تسعمایہ ؟

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. God the Exalted says: And verily, the mosques are for God (only); hence, invoke not with God anyone else.

(2) And the Prophet, may God's blessings and peace be upon him, says: He who builds a mosque, God builds for him a palace in Paradise

(3) This mosque was constructed by the sinful slave of the nourishing Lord, turning in hope to God, Maḥmūd, son of 'Uṭhmān, son of Ḥājī 'Uṭhmān (?) on the 30th of Rabī' I *Shuhūr San* 946 A.H.² (15th Aug. 1539 A.D.).

¹ A few words written vertically here could not be read. They probably appear to be in continuation of the last line

² The reading of the date is doubtful.

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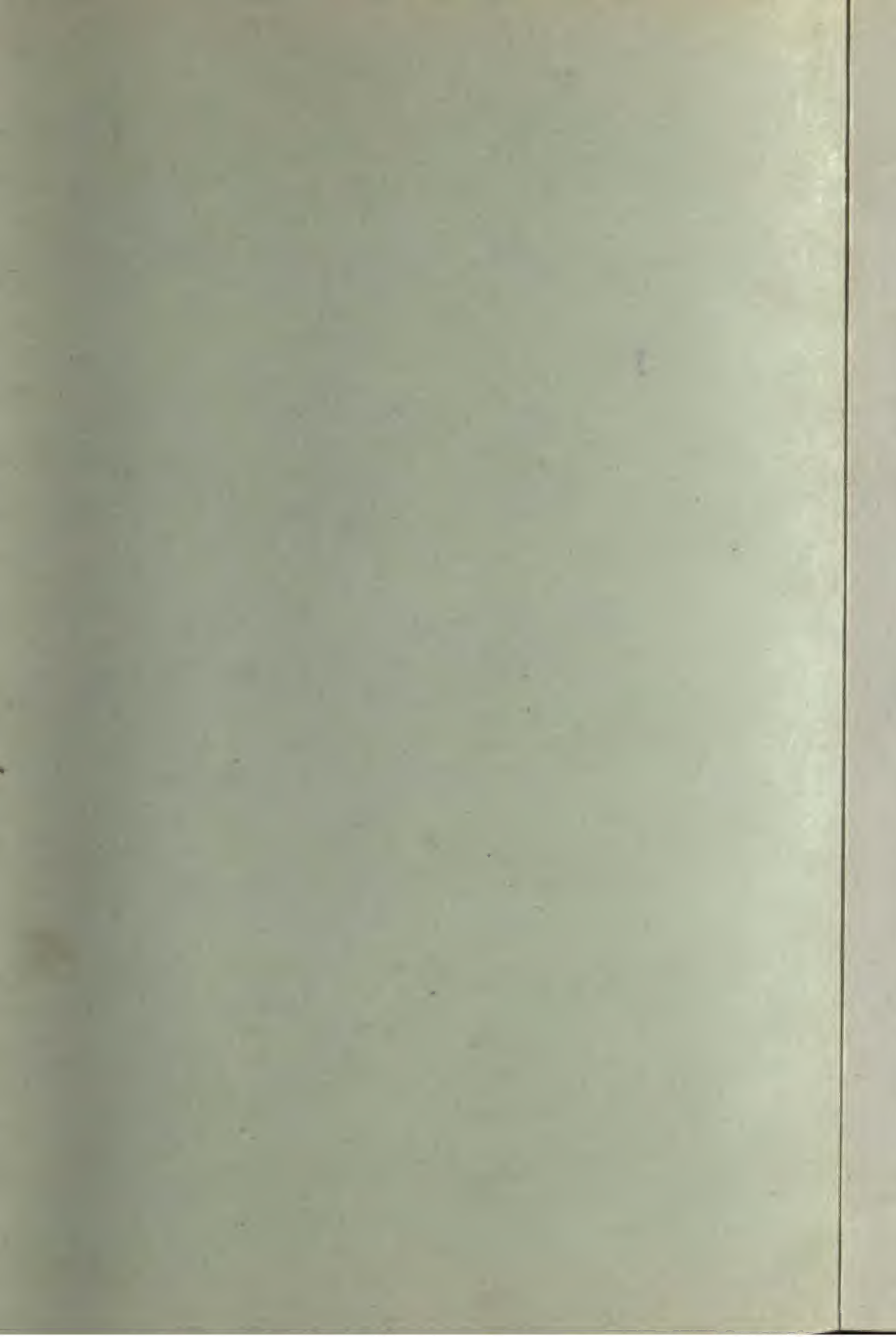
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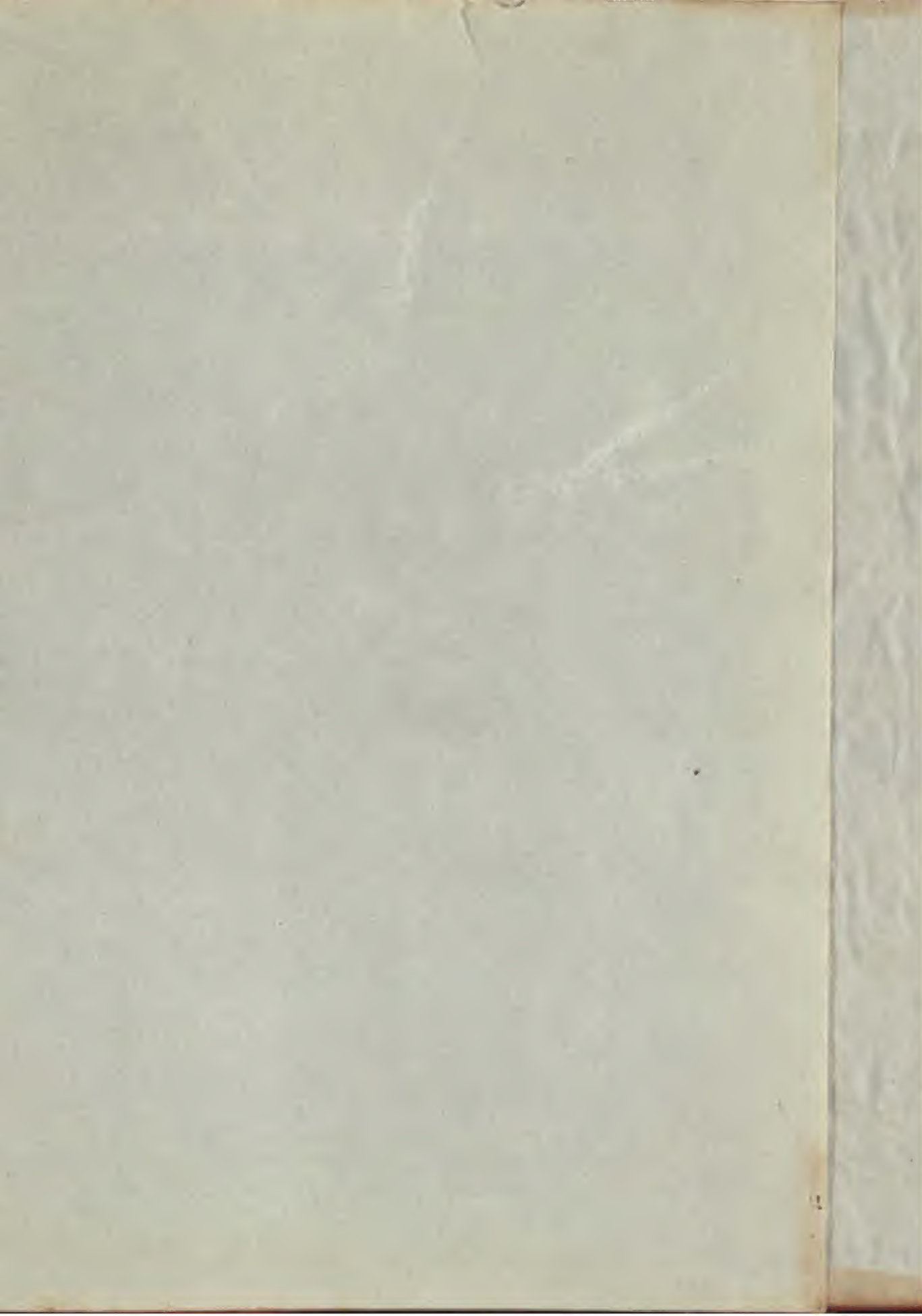
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